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NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

I.

CHRISTIAN EMBLEMS ON THE COINS OF CONSTANTINE I. THE GREAT, HIS FAMILY, AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

(*Continued.*)

§ XVI.—COINS OF CONSTANTINE I. WITH THE DIADEM.

(?) 315—337.

The invention of the diadem is mythically attributed to Bacchus.[1] It was a white band or fillet tied round the temples or the head, with the loose ends hanging down behind,[2] and was of Eastern origin. Alexander the Great (B.C. 336—323) is said to have first adopted this head-dress from the Persians,[3] and it may be seen at a later date

[1] "Instituit Liber Pater *diadema.*" Plin., "Nat. Hist.," lib. vii. cap. 56.

[2] Hence Tacitus speaks of the white foam of the Euphrates upon the surface curling into circles in the *form of a diadem* —"albentibus spumis *in modum diadematis* sinuare orbes." "Ann.," vi. 37.

[3] Justin, xii. 3. The Persian head-dress bore the name of *kitaris* or *kidaris*, and was a tall, stiff cap, slightly swelling as it ascended. Round it, near the bottom, was a fillet—the *diadem* proper—which was blue, spotted with white (Curt., "Hist. Alex.," iii. 3; Xen., "Cyrop.," viii. 3, 13; Dion. Cass. xxxvi. 35; Rawlinson, "Ancient Monarchies," vol. iii. p. 204).

on the coins of Hiero II. and his son Gelon[4] (B.C. 275—216).

When attempts were made to introduce it at Rome, they caused great offence. At the feast of the *Lupercalia*, Antony placed a diadem several times on the head of Julius Cæsar, but he would not accept it, and as often sent it away to the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter.[5] The erection of a statue of Claudius Drusus, showing himself as wearing the diadem, was reckoned among the acts of delinquency of the family of the Claudii.[6] Caligula was strongly inclined to assume the diadem and change the

This cap with the diadem is represented on some of the Persian darics. It was the distinctive mark of Oriental sovereigns—τὸ διάδημα τῆς Ἀσίας (1 Maccab. xiii. 32; cf. Esther i. 11, ii. 17; Is. lxii. 3; Rev. xii. 3, xiii. 1, xix. 12).

[4] There is no reason for supposing, as some think (Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. i. pp. 251—257; Leake, "Trans. of Roy. Soc. of Literature," 2nd Ser. vol. iii. p. 370) that because Hiero II. and his son never wore the diadem, nor any other regal insignia, in public, that the head upon these coins is that of Hiero I. or Gelon I. (E. H. Bunbury, Smith, "Dict. of Biog.," *s. v.* "Hieron II."; B. V. Head, "Num. Chron." N.S., 1874, vol. xiv., p. 61).

[5] "Admotum sæpius capiti suo *diadema* repulerit." Suet., "Jul. Cæs.," 79. Once (Suet., *op. cit.*) a man in the crowd put a laurel crown, encircled with a white fillet ("coronam lauream *candida fascia præligatam*"; διάδημα βασιλικόν . . . στεφάνῳ δάφνης περιπεπλεγμένον—Plut., "Jul. Cæs.," 61) on one of his statues, which much annoyed him, and the man was sent to prison; but he was never able to quite shake off the idea of having wished to affect the title of king, though when so saluted by the populace he replied, "I am Cæsar—not king" ("Cæsarem se non regem"). The head of Numa Pompilius on a silver coin of Cnæus Pompeius (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 3) is adorned with the *diadem*. Livia and Antonia are also represented with it on some of their coins (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," vol. i.)

[6] "Claudius Drusus, statua sibi cum *diademate* ad Appii Forum posita, Italiam per clientelas occupare tentavit." Suet., "Tib.," 2.

form of government from Imperial to Regal, but being warned attempted to arrogate to himself a divine Majesty.[7] Titus, on his journey back to Rome after the taking of Jerusalem, by wearing a diadem at the consecration of the bull Apis at Memphis, incurred the suspicion of intending to rebel against his father, and of claiming for himself the government of the East.[8] Elagabalus adopted the gemmed diadem, but only wore it in his own house;[9] whilst Aurelian is said to have been the first Roman who bound a diadem round his head,[10] a custom he probably adopted from Zenobia who wore it,[11] but this is not confirmed by his coins. Diocletian introduced the stately magnificence of the court of Persia, and assumed the diadem, a broad white fillet set with pearls,[12] but did not venture to place it on the Imperial coinage, whilst, according to Eusebius, who is speaking of Constantius Chlorus, the diadem was a special distinction of the Imperial *Cæsars*.[13]

[7] "Nec multum afuit, quin statim *diadema* sumeret, speciemque principatus in regni formam converteret. Verum admonitus, et principum et regum se excessisse fastigium, divinam ex eo majestatem asserere sibi cœpit." Suet., "Calig.," 22. Εἷς *κοίρανος ἔστω, εἷς βασιλεὺς* (Hom. "Il.," ii. 204) exclaimed this *μοναρχικώτατος* (Dion. Cass., lix. 3; F. W. Madden, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1866, vol. vi., p. 273).

[8] Quam suspicionem auxit, postquam Alexandriam petens, in consecrando apud Memphin bove Api *diadema* gestavit." Suet., "Tit.," 5.

[9] "Voluit uti et *diademate gemmato*, quia pulchrior fierot, et magis ad feminarum vultum aptus; quo et usus est domi." Lamprid., "Heliogab.," 23.

[10] "Iste primus apud Romanos *diadema* capiti innexuit, gemmisque et aurata omni veste, quod adhuc fere incognitum Romanis moribus visebatur, usus est." Aurel. Vict., "Epit.," 35.

[11] Treb. Poll., "xxx. Tyr.," 29; Vopisc., "Aurelian," 28, 29, 30.

[12] Gibbon, "Rom. Emp.," vol. ii. p. 94.

[13] Κωνστάντιος *πρῶτος αὔγουστος καὶ σεβαστὸς ἀνηγορεύετο, τὸ*

It was reserved for Constantine I. the Great to unhesitatingly adopt the diadem, as testified by his coins; and, indeed, he is said to have always worn it.[14]

The coins of Constantine I., with the diadem, may be divided into two classes:—

(*a*) Coins *with Legend on the obverse*, and the head of Constantine wearing a diadem composed of laurel intermingled with gems, some round and some square.

(*b*) Coins *with no Legend on the obverse*, and the head wearing (1) a band or fillet encrusted with square gems and pearls, and (2) a band or fillet formed of two rows of pearls and studded with gems.[15]

61, 62. [British Museum, Pl. IV. Nos. 1 & 2.]

μὲν καταρχὰς τῷ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων διαδήματι λαμπρυνόμενος καὶ τούτων ἀπειληφὼς τὰ πρῶτα. "Vit. Const.," i. c. 18.

[14] "Habitum regium gemmis et caput exornans *perpetuo diademate*." Aurel. Vict., "Epit.," 141.

[15] Some rare silver medallions struck in commemoration of the foundation of Constantinople, 330, having the head of Constantine with diadem, and on the reverse **D. N. CONSTANTINVS MAX. TRIVMF. AVG.** and the genius of the city turreted and enthroned, have been published by Dr. Friedlaender ("Zeits. f. Num.," vol. iii. p. 125, Berlin, 1875; cf. Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 7). Five specimens are known, and the exergual letters are **M**[*oneta*] **CONS**[*tantinopolitana*] **B.**, **Δ.**, **S.**, **Z.**, **I.**, each example having a distinct differential letter. The title of **D**[*ominus*] **N**[*oster*] occurs on the coins of Diocletian and Maximian Hercules after their abdication. It was not adopted by their immediate successors, Galerius Maximian, Severus, Maxentius, and Maximinus, but reappears on the coinage of the two Licinii. It occurs on a few other coins of Constantine, and then appears to have been principally employed as the title for the *Cæsars*, but for what reason is unknown. The title is continued by the successors of Constantine, and eventually completely takes the place of the original **IMP**[*erator*]. Cf. F. W. Maddon, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1866, vol. vi. p. 272, *note* 71.

Eckhel has suggested[16] that Constantine adopted the diadem, wishing to liken himself to Alexander the Great, on whose coins an effigy of a very similar character may be seen; but, according to the authority of St. Ambrose, the Empress Helena, at the time when she is supposed to have discovered at Jerusalem, about the year 326, the fragment of our Saviour's cross together with two of the nails (one of which was used for the bridle of his horse, the other for his diadem), sent to her son Constantine a *diadem studded with gems;*[17] moreover, the

[16] "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 80.

[17] "Quæsivit clavos, quibus crucifixus est Dominus, et invenit. De uno clavo frænos fieri præcepit, de altero diadema intexuit: unum ad decorem, alterum ad devotionem vertit. Misit itaque filio suo Constantino *diadema gemmis insignitum*, quas pretiosior ferro innexas Crucis redemptionis divinæ gemma contexeret. Habeant hoc etiam principes Christi sibi liberalitate concessum, ut ad imitationem Domini dicatur de Imperatore Romano; *Posuisti in capite ejus coronam de lapide pretioso.*" "De obitu Theodosii," 47, 48. The words *Posuisti in capite*, etc., are taken from Psalm xx. 4. I have already pointed out that the finding of the cross by Helena is open to much doubt (§ VIII. "Coins of Helena and Theodora"), and have alluded to the *nail on the bridle* in another place (§ V. "Coins with the *Mars* and *Sol Invictus* Types," *note* 31). The diadem supposed to have been sent by Helena to Constantine has been identified with the iron crown of Lombardy at Monza Cathedral, which is composed of six plates of gold and within which is an *iron band*, reported to have been made out of *the other nail from the cross*, and hence the name of the "Iron Crown." But in all probability the iron band was inserted in the diadem simply for the purpose of strengthening it (Rev. E. Venables, Smith, "Dict. of Christ. Antiq.," *s.v.* "Crown"). According to another tradition, Henry I., the Fowler, of Saxony (921—936), is said to have had *a lance studded with nails from the true cross*, which he had succeeded in getting from Rodolph of Burgundy, and which was once in the possession of Constantine the Great; but the story is necessarily very doubtful ("Encyc. Metropol.," vol. xi. p. 485).

Senate is said, at some time or other,[18] to have specially decreed a *diadem* to Constantine.[19]

On the coins marked *a*, as they do not in themselves illustrate the Christianity of Constantine, no remarks are called for; but of those marked *b*, where the head of Constantine is represented looking upwards towards heaven, it may be noted that Eusebius states that "Constantine directed his likeness to be stamped on the gold coins of the Empire, with *the eyes uplifted as if praying to God*," adding that "this money became current throughout the whole Roman world."[20] In addition Constantine had his full-length portrait placed over the entrance gates of his palaces *with the eyes upraised to heaven*, and the hands outspread as if in prayer.[21]

[18] Probably in 315, when he was also decreed the title of **MAXIMVS** (See § I. under A.D. 315), as nearly all the coins with legend and diadem bear the title of **MAX.** A silver piece with **IMP. CONSTANTINVS AVG.** is given by Cohen ("Méd. Imp.," No. 89), but only from *Banduri* and *D'Ennery*, and the **MAX.** is absent on some, though not all, of the copper coins with the legend **GLORIA EXERCITVS** and the head of Constantine with diadem (Cohen, Nos. 308—310, 313—320).

[19] Tibi Constantine et nuper Senatus signum dedit et paulo ante Italia scutum et *coronam* cuncta aurea dedicarunt Debetur enim et divinitati simulacrum aurum," etc. ("Anonym. Paneg.," viii. 25), quoted by Tillemont ("Constantin," *note* 33), who adds:—"*Dedicarunt*—marque qu'il y a faute dans *dedit*, au lieu duquel d'autres lisent *Dei*, et Livineius croit qu'il est bon. Il est néanmoins encore bien obscur; car s'il veut dire qu'on dédia une statue à Constantin comme à un Dieu, ce que la suite semble marquer, l'expression est fort impropre. Baronius tire de là que le Sénat fit dresser une statue à Jésus-Christ comme au Dieu de Constantin."

[20] Ὡς ἐν τοῖς χρυσοῖς νομίσμασι τὴν αὐτοῦ αὐτὸς εἰκόνα ὧδε γράφεσθαι διετύπου, ὡς ἄνω βλέπειν δοκεῖν ἀνατεταμένος πρὸς θεὸν, τρόπον εὐχομένου. Τούτου μὲν οὖν τὰ ἐκτυπώματα καθ'ὅλης τῆς Ῥωμαίων διέτρεχεν οἰκουμένης. "Vit. Const.," iv. c. 15.

[21] Ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ βασιλείοις κατὰ τινας πύλας ἐν ταῖς εἰς τὸ μετέ-

Julian the Apostate, nephew of Constantine, in his account of the Emperors before the Gods,[22] evidently alludes to his uncle's face as represented on these coins, when he says, "Constantine kept himself aloof from the gods and stood near the vestibule of the Moon, with whom he seemed to be desperately in love, and upon whom he kept his eyes firmly fixed," and makes Mercury deride him for leading the life of a "female hair-dresser"—"your style of hair and your face sufficiently prove it"—and when the sentence is passed that each shall place himself under the protection of the god or goddess that best pleases him, Constantine, not finding any model of himself among the gods, and perceiving Effeminacy approach him, attached himself to her, who immediately embraced him, and clothed him in the flowered dress of a lady and conducted him to Luxury, a statement which doubtless alludes to the "vesture embroidered with gold and flowers" mentioned by Eusebius.[23]

ωρον τῶν προπύλων ἀνακειμέναις εἰκόσιν, ἑστὼς ὄρθιος ἐγράφετο, ἄνω μὲν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἐμβλέπων, τὼ χεῖρε δ' ἐκτεταμένος εὐχομένου σχήματι. "Vit. Const.," iv. c. 15. This form of adoration was not, however, peculiar to the Christians; it obtained also among the Pagans ("Et duplices tendens ad sidera palmas," Virg., "Æn.," i. 93; cf. ii. 153, v. 256; *Θεοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις καὶ Ὀλυμπίαις πάντεσσι καὶ πάσαις δεξιὰς καὶ ἀριστερὰς ἀνίσχοντας μνασιδωρεῖν καττὰ πάτρια*, Demosth., "adv. Macart.," 1072; F. W. Madden, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1866, vol. vi. p. 201). The Rev. J. Wordsworth (Smith, "Dict. of Christ. Biog.," vol. i. p. 649) speaks of the coins as "having no traces of the *hands* mentioned by Eusebius," but this author does not mention the *hands* in connection with the *coins* on which the face is "stretched out or up towards God" (*ἀνατεταμένος πρὸς Θεὸν*), but in connection with the *picture*, where the *hands* are said to have been "stretched forth" (*τὼ χεῖρε δ' ἐκτεταμένος*) in the attitude of prayer.

[22] "Cæsares."

[23] "Orat. de laud. Const.," c. 5.

Yet Julian himself did not scruple to assume, at Vienne, "a *diadem* glittering with precious stones"[24] in place of the golden torque (a *vilis corona*) from the neck of one of the standard bearers with which (as Julian would not accept his wife's neck or head ribbon, or the trappings of the head and breast (*phaleræ*) of a horse) he had been crowned in Paris.[25] His successor Jovian was also crowned with the *diadem*,[26] and it is found on the coins of both these emperors, and on those of their successors.

The diadem may be seen on a rare gold coin of Crispus (*Cæsar* in 317),[27] who was killed in 326, which is doubted by Cavedoni,[28] but for no good reason; on a gold and a silver coin of Constantine II. (*Cæsar* in 317), both in the British Museum,[29] on gold and silver coins of Constantius II. (*Cæsar* in 323),[30] and on silver coins of Constans (*Cæsar* in 333).[31] As regards the coin of Crispus, it may be observed that it might have been struck after his death, as it is certain that another gold piece with the *exergual* letters **CONS.**[32] could not have been issued before the dedication of Constantinople in 330.

[24] "Ambitioso *diademate* utebatur lapidum fulgore distincto." Amm. Marcell., xxi. 1.

[25] Amm. Marcell., xx. 4. It was against his will that he was first declared Augustus at Paris—ἐπέθεσαν σὺν βίᾳ τὸ διάδημα τῇ κεφαλῇ. Zosim., iii. 9, 4.

[26] Καὶ τὸ διάδημα περιθέμενος. Zosim. iii. 30.

[27] F. W. Madden, "Blacas Collection," "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1868, vol. viii. p. 38; Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 2.

[28] "Ricerche," p. 24.

[29] Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," Nos. 19, 20; cf. "Suppl.," No. 2.

[30] Cohen, "Méd Imp.," Nos. 56, 57.

[31] Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 31.

[32] Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 8, from "Ancien Cat. du Cab. des Médailles."

§ XVII. COINS OF CONSTANTINE I. AND HIS FAMILY WITH THE NIMBUS.

The origin of the *nimbus* is attributed to the Egyptians, from whom it passed to the Greeks and Romans.[33] Cavedoni thinks[34] that it was assumed by Constantine in imitation of the "face of Moses which shone" (Ex. xxxiv. 29; cf. 2 Cor. iii. 7), to whom he is compared by Eusebius,[35] but whether this be the case or not, some of the heads of the Roman emperors earlier than the time of Constantine are decorated with this symbol, notably Claudius, Trajan,[36]

[33] Buonarruoti, "Votri," p. 60, 4to, Firenze, 1716; Didron, "Christian Iconography," p. 146, ed. Bohn, 1851; Martigny, "Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.," *s. v.* "Nimbus." According to Didron (*op. cit.*, p. 25, 26) the Latin word *nimbus* agrees with the Greek word *νιφάς*, "snow," "shower," "raindrop," etc., and that it is derived from it. There also appears to be some analogy between *nubes* (Gr. *νέφος*, Lat. *nebula*) and *nimbus* from the root *nub*,—*nubo*, "to veil." Isidore of Seville describes the *nimbus* as a transverse bandeau of gold sewn on the veil, and worn by women on their forehead ("*Nimbus* est fasciola transversa ex auro, assuta linteo, quod est in fronte feminarum," "Orig.," xix. c. 31), but Didron gives apparently satisfactory reason for showing that the *nimbus* is not properly applicable to any peculiar ornament of the head, and further suggests that the word *nimbata*, as occurring in Plautus ("Poenulus," i. 2, 185), usually interpreted "light," "frivolous," or "trifling," is well rendered by "radiant," so that the line "Quam magis aspecto, tam magis est *nimbata*" should be rendered, "The more I look at her, the more radiant (or beautiful) she appears."

[34] "Ricerche," p. 23, *note* 20.

[35] "Vit. Const.," i. c. 12.

[36] Ludolf Stephanus, "Nimbus und Strahlenkranz in den Werken der Alten Kunst," 4to, St. Petersburg, 1859; Sabatier, "Mon. Byz.," vol. i. p. 82. Didron ("Christ. Icon.," pp. 147, 148), who notes that Trajan is sculptured on the arch of Constantine in three places with a "circle of luminous gold," adds that Pliny writes, "Trajan deserved, but Caligula usurped the *nimbus*," but I have been unable to verify the passage. On

and Antoninus Pius,[37] so that it would be difficult to affirm that the presence of the *nimbus* gives direct proof of the Christianity of Constantine, though it was doubtless adopted in this sense.

63. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS P. F. AVG.** Three-quarter bust of Constantine I. with *nimbus* to the left, with imperial mantle, holding a globe with a Victory and a book.

Rev.—**GAVDIVM ROMANORVM.** Trophy composed of a cuirass, shields, spears, &c., at the foot of which are seated two captives. In the exergue **FRANC. ET ALAM. TR.** (*Francia et Alamannia, Treviris.*) *N.*

(Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 62, *Morell, Specimen.*)

This curious piece, as we learn from Morell, was formerly in the collection of the Count of Schwarzburg. Other specimens with the same reverse legend and type are known of Constantine I., and perhaps of Crispus and Constantine II.[38] In the year 306 Constantine I. waged war against the *Franci* and *Alamanni*, and is said to have used great cruelty towards them; and the latter nation

some gold coins of Trajan struck after his death the phœnix on the reverse is represented with the *nimbus* (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 294; F. W. Madden, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1861, vol. i. p. 95, Pl. IV. No. 6; Cohen, "Suppl.," No. 30). See under § XIII. "Consecration Coins of Constantine I."

[37] On a large brass coin published and engraved by Oiselius ("Thes. Num. Antiq.," p. 371, Pl. LXVII, 4to, Amstel., 1677), who omits, as also Cohen ("Méd. Imp.," No. 559), to notice that the *nimbus* is surrounded with *spikes*, so that it becomes a *radiated nimbus* (F. W. Madden, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1868, vol. viii. p. 84).

[38] Madden, "Gold Coins of the late Duc de Blacas," "Num. Chron.," N.S., vol. viii. p. 82; Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," "Crispus," No. 7, cf. "Suppl.," Pl. VII., "Constantine II.," No. 26.

was again subdued in 311. The coins with **FRANC. ET ALAM.** were first issued about 308.

64. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS P. F. AVG.** Bust of Constantine I. with *nimbus* facing, raising the right hand and holding a globe.

Rev.—**VICTORIOSO SEMPER.** Turreted female to the left, presenting a crown to Constantine, who is being crowned by Victory: all standing. In the exergue **S. M. T.** (*Signata Moneta Thessalonicæ.*) *Æ.*

(Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 148, *Autrefois, Cabinet des Médailles.*)

The date of issue of this coin cannot be fixed. It was probably struck between 308 and 315.

65. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS P. F. AVG.** Bust of Constantine I. to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum*, holding a sceptre surmounted by an eagle.

Rev.—**SALVS ET SPES REIPVBLICAE.** Constantine I. with *nimbus* seated facing on a raised throne, holding a book and a globe; on either side one of his sons standing, holding a sceptre. In the exergue **P. R.** (*Prima Româ.*) Æ. Med.

(Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 168.)

66. *Obv.*—**CRISPVS NOB. CAES.** Bust of Crispus to the left laureated, with the imperial mantle, and holding a sceptre surmounted by an eagle.

Rev.—**SALVS ET SPES XRPVBLICAE** (*sic*). Christ seated facing, the right hand raised, and a cross in His left, between Constantine I. and one of his sons standing laureated and in military dress, turning their eyes towards Him. In the exergue **S. P.** (*sic*). Æ. Med.

(Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 27, from *Mus. Sanclem. Num. Sel.* iii. p. 182.)

These coins, according to Cavedoni,[39] were probably struck on the occasion of one of the consular processions; that of Crispus on the occasion of his third, in 324.

With respect to the medallion of Crispus it cannot but be regarded with great suspicion as described by Sanclementi. Evidently the **XRPVBLICAE** (*sic*) has been substituted for **REIPVBLICAE**, and the *cross* has been inserted instead of the *globe*. The effigy of Christ, too, is quite out of place at this date; and though there is no reason for doubting the existence of such a piece of Crispus, the type of this specimen has been altered, and was, probably, originally similar to the medallion of Constantine I. The exergual letters, too, **S. P.** (*Sanctus Petrus!*) should certainly be **S. R.** (*Secunda Româ*).

67. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG.** Bust of Constantine I. to right with diadem and with *paludamentum*.

Rev.—**SALVS ET SPES REIPVBLICAE.** Constantine I. in military dress with *nimbus*, seated, holding a spear; on each side of him a soldier standing with a shield and spear. In the exergue **CONS.** (*Constantinopoli.*) *Æ.* Med.

(Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 25, *Autrefois, Cabinet des Médailles.*)

68. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. CAES.** Bust of Constantine II. to right.

Rev.—**SALVS ET SPES REIPVBLICAE.** Same type. In the exergue **CONS.** (*Constantinopoli*). *Æ.* Med.

(Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 7, *Ancien Catalogue.*)

69. *Obv.*—**FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS NOB. CAES.** Bust of Constantius II. laureated, with the *paludamentum*.

[39] "Ricerche," p. 23.

Rev.—**SALVS ET SPES REIPVBLICAE.** Same type, though the soldiers are each called by Cohen "un de ses fils debout." In the exergue **CONS.** (*Constantinopoli*). *N.* Med.

(Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 36, *Autrefois, Cabinet des Médailles.*)

This type is not found on the coins of Constans, but of this Cæsar there is a gold medallion with the same legend, and (?) "Constantine I., Constans, and Constantine II. standing," similar to a piece issued by Constantius II., and both struck at Thessalonica.[40]

These coins from bearing the mint-mark of Constantinople cannot have been struck before 330, and probably between that date and 333, as the coins of Constans made *Cæsar* in that year are wanting.

70. *Obv.*—**FLAVIA MAXIMA FAVSTA AVGVSTA.** Bust of Fausta to the right.

Rev.—**PIETAS AVGVSTAE.** Female seated facing with *nimbus*, holding a child in her arms, between Felicity standing turning to the right, holding a *caduceus*, and another female standing turning to the left; at her feet, on either side, two genii standing, holding a crown. In the exergue **P. TR.** (*Prima Treviris.*) *N.* Med.

(Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 1, *Cabinet des Médailles, Paris.*)

Eckhel[41] calls the seated figure "Fausta," and Mionnet "l'impératrice"; but Cohen thinks that the presence of a single child in the place of the usual two seen on the coins of Fausta, as also the *nimbus*, makes it probable that the figure is rather that of the Virgin Mary holding the infant Jesus.

[40] Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," "Constans," No. 18, "Constantius II.," No. 87.

[41] "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 99.

This coin proves that the name of Fausta was *Maxima* and not *Maximiana*, as stated in Smith's "Dictionary of Biography."

A brass medallion of similar legend (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 6), represents Fausta holding out her hand *to her son standing at her side*, and holding another in her arms.

The date of issue of these coins cannot be fixed with certainty. Cohen[42] is of opinion that if the coins with the legend **SALVS REIPVBLICAE** really represent Fausta holding in her arms her two eldest sons Constantine II. and Constantius II., they were struck in all probability about 317 or 318.

This date might also suit for the coins with the legend **PIETAS AVGVSTAE** above alluded to; but in the case of the brass medallion representing a *boy of four or five years of age*, we must have a representation of the eldest son, Constantine II., born about 312, and not in 316.[43]

71. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. CAES.** Bust of Constantine II. to the right, laureated.

Rev.—**FELICITAS PERPETVA AVG. ET. CAESS. NN.** The emperor in military dress with *nimbus*, seated, holding a spear; on either side a soldier standing with a shield and a spear. In the exergue **CONS.** (*Constantinopoli*) or **S. M. N.** (*Signata Moneta Nicomediâ.*) *Æ.* Med.

(Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 2, *Ancien Catalogue du Cabinet des Médailles.*)

This medallion was issued after 330.

[42] "Méd. Imp.," vol. vi. p. 182, *note* 2.

[43] See § I., under the year 317, and § VII., "Coins of Constantine I., Constantine II., and Constantius II."

After the death of Constantine I. his sons continued striking coins representing their father with the *nimbus* (**FELICITAS PERPETVA**. *R.* Med. CONSTANS, Cohen, No. 3; *N.* Cohen, No. 34), and they very soon frequently adopted it (**GLORIA ROMANORVM.** *N.* Med. CONSTANTIUS II., Cohen, No. 31; **FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO.** Æ. Cohen, No. 228; cf. **GLORIA REIPVBLICAE** and ☧ *N.* Med. CONSTANS, Cohen, No. 12, *Autrefois, Cab. des Médailles*), a custom continued under their successors, and especially on the splendid gold medallions of Valens, preserved in the *Musée de Vienne* (Cohen, Nos. 1, 6, 8 and 10).

§ XVIII. FALSE OR UNCERTAIN COINS OF CONSTANTINE I. AND II.

1. *Obv.*—No legend. Head of Constantine I. to the right, with diadem.

Rev.—**CONSTANTINVS AVG.** The emperor standing holding a sceptre in his right hand, and in his left a standard terminating in a pellet, below which is the banner, and on it ☧; in the exergue **R. P.** (*Româ prima.*) *R.* Med.

(Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 248, No. 26, from Caronni, "Mus. Hederv." ii., in vignette, *parti secundæ additio*, pp. 1, 8; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 99, No. 26.)

This medallion is not published by Cohen. Garrucci takes the reverse type to represent *the statue* of Constantine; but he does not say which statue, or make any further observations on this piece. It cannot be said to be above suspicion.

2. *Obv.*—**D. N. CONSTANTINVS P. F. AVG.** Head of Constantine I. veiled; behind **A.**

Rev.—**IN HOC SIN.** (*sic*) **VIC.** Monogram ☧; above a star; in the field **S. C.** Æ. Med.

This medallion is engraved in the catalogue of the "Pisani Museum,"[44] and is also published by Toderinus.[45]

In spite, however, of the opinion of these authors, Eckhel rejected it as spurious.[46] M. Cohen states[47] that it is not a medallion, but a large brass coin. "Comme tel," he adds, "c'est une médaille dont le flan est antique, mais qui est totalement refaite; il paraît même, par la forme inégale du flan, qu'on s'est servi d'un grand bronze de l'époque entre Trajan Dèce et Gallien. Mis en vente en 1860, lors de la vente du Cabinet Fontana, le Cabinet des Médailles l'a acquis pour la faible somme de 26 fr., afin de pouvoir prouver la fausseté de cette piece célèbre."

The legend **HOC SIGNO VICTOR ERIS** occurs on the second brass of Constantius II. (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 250), and of Vetranio (Cohen, Nos. 7 and 8), on the second and small brass of Constantius Gallus (Cohen, Nos. 45 and 46), and on a gold coin of the same *Cæsar* struck at Thessalonica (Cohen, No. 10), to all of which I shall allude in their proper place.

3. *Obv.*—**IMP. CAES. FL. CONSTANTINO MAX. P. F. AVG.** Head of Constantine to the right

[44] Albertus Mazzolenus, "In num. ærea selectiora max. mod. e Mus. Pisano olim Corrario commentarii," fol. 1740, and "In num. ærea sel. max. mod. e Mus. Pisano animadversiones," fol. 1741, Pl. LXXXI.

[45] "De Constantiniana crucis apparitione," p. 60.

[46] "Numisma istud adeo multis ex causis est insolens, ut non verear propalam adulterinis accensere."—"Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 84.

[47] "Méd. Imp.," vol. vi. p. 119, *note* 2.

laureated, and with *paludamentum*, surrounded by the twelve signs of the zodiac.

Rev.—**S. P. Q. R. QVOD INSTINCTV DIVINITATIS MENTIS MAGNITVDINE CVM EXERCITV SVO TAM DE TYRANNO QVAM DE OMNI EIVS FACTIONE VNO TEMP. IVSTIS REMP. VLTVS EST ARMIS ARC. TRIVMPHIS INSIGNEM DICAVIT,** within a laurel wreath. Æ. 14¼.

The reverse legend of this remarkable piece of the contorniate style is taken from the famous inscription on the arch of Constantine, dedicated in 315, placed thereon to commemorate the defeat of Maxentius (*tyrannus*) in 312, and which reads as follows:—[48]

IMP. CAES. FL. CONSTANTINO MAXIMO
P. F. AVGVSTO S. P. Q. R.
VOTIS X QVOD INSTINCTV DIVINITATIS MENTIS SIC X
MAGNITVDINE CVM EXERCITV SVO
TAM DE TYRANNO QVAM DE OMNI EIVS
VOTIS XX FACTIONE VNO TEMPORE IVSTIS SIC XX
REMPVBLICAM VLTVS EST ARMIS
ARCVM TRIVMPHIS INSIGNEM DICAVIT
LIBERATORI VRBIS FVNDATORI QVIETIS

It appears to have been first published by Banduri,[49] but was condemned by Eckhel though he had not seen it.[50] It was at one time in the collection of Sir Andrew Fountaine, and from thence passed into that of the Earl of Pembroke. The compiler of the "Pembroke Sale Catalogue"[51] in a lengthy note vindicated its authenticity,

[48] Orelli, "Inscr.," No. 1075. See § I., A.D. 315. Mr. King ("Early Christ. Num." p. 17, *note*) considers that the arch was dedicated in 312, but gives no authority for his assertion.

[49] Vol. ii. pp. 256, 279.

[50] "Qualiscunque dicatur, mihi opus antiquum non videtur." —"Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 88.

[51] P. 297.

supposing it to have been "a ticket of admission" issued on the occasion of the dedication of the arch of Constantine, but whether it *sold* as a genuine piece I am unable to say. Cavedoni[52] did not accept it as genuine; and Cohen[53] has not admitted it *tant il paraît suspect.*

As regards the inscription on the arch,[54] it has been by some stated[55] that the words **INSTINCTV DIVINITATIS** appear to have been written *over* the effaced words **NVTV IOVIS O. M.**, or perhaps **DIIS FAVENTIBVS**; but Garrucci quite sets this question at rest by assuring us,[56] from personal inspection, that the marble was not lower, in the portion where these words occur, than in other parts, nor are the letters themselves confused, nor are there indeed any traces of letters to be seen that could have been previously engraved.[57]

I may add that Constantine himself, in his "Oration to the Assembly of the Saints," speaks of his services as owing their origin to the *inspiration of God*,[58] whilst both Constantine and Licinius gave thanks to the Deity

[52] "Ricerche," p. 21. [53] "Méd. Imp.," vol. vi. p. 582.

[54] The arch of Constantine is adorned with superb reliefs relating to the history of Trajan, taken, apparently, from some arch or other monument of that emperor, contrasting strangely with the ill-executed sculptures belonging to the time of Constantine himself (T. H. Dyer, Smith, "Dict. of Geog.," vol. ii. p. 809).

[55] Guattini, "Monumenti Antichi di Roma," p. xciv. 1789; "Roma Descritta," p. 42, 1805; Henzen, "Suppl. ad Orell.," vol. iii. p. 113.

[56] "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed. p. 245; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 96.

[57] The Padre Mozzoni assured Cavedoni ("Ricerche," p. 21, *note*) that the words **INSTINCTV DIVINITATIS** were the original. Cf. De Rossi, "Bullet. d'Arch. Crist.," 1863, Nos. 7 and 8.

[58] Ἐξ ἐπιπνοίας θεοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσαν, ἀφ' οὗ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀνδραγαθίας τὸν θεὸν αἴτιον εἶναι διαβεβαιοῦνται. "Ap. Euseb.," c. 26.

(*Divinitas*) and to God (*Deus*) for the victories that they had gained over Maxentius.[59]

On this contorniate the twelve signs of the Zodiac are said to occur, a rare symbol on Roman coins. It may be seen on the well-known gold coin of Hadrian with the legend **SAEC. AVR.**, and the type a male figure standing holding in his right hand "a Zodiac," which surrounds the whole type, called by Cohen *une auréole ovale*,[60] and on a large brass coin of Antoninus Pius, with the type of Italia seated on a globe around which is the "Zodiac," which peculiarity is not mentioned by Cohen, and on Alexandrian coins of the same Emperor,[61] also on a medallion of Alexander Severus,[62] and on a rare gold coin of Constantine the Great.[63]

4. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS P. F. AVG.** Head of Constantine I. to the left, laureated.

Rev.—**VICTORIA MAXVMA** written round the monogram ☧ placed between **A** and Ω. *N*.

This coin was engraved by Jacobus Biæus,[64] and was also illustrated by Joannes Hemelarius,[65] and was accepted as genuine by Tanini.[66]

[59] See § I. under years 312—313. Cavedoni ("Ricerche," p. 21 *note*) notices that Constantine is called *Divino monitus instinctu* by his anonymous panegyrist (viii. c. 11), and by Nazarius ("Paneg.," ix. c. 17; cf. 12, 13) as governing *Divino instinctu*.

[60] "Méd. Imp.," No. 471. See § XIII. *note* 120.

[61] Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. iv. p. 70.

[62] Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. ii. p. 40.

[63] See F. W. Madden, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1862, vol. ii. p. 48, for further remarks on this question.

[64] "Numismata aurea," Pl. LI., 4to, Antwerp, 1615.

[65] "Imp. Rom. Num. aurea," Antwerp, 1627.

[66] "Suppl. ad Bandur.," p. 265.

On these authorities Garrucci published it,[67] quoting in its support a description by Vettori, in a MS. catalogue of the Christian Museum of the Vatican, of a small brass coin of similar type,[68] and he is still disposed to consider it as genuine.[69]

But Eckhel[70] placed the two authors, Biæus and Hemelarius, as describers of coins in whom *nulla plane habenda fides*, an opinion which has been also taken by Cavedoni.[71]

The coin has however been accepted as genuine by other modern writers in support of theories connected with Christian Antiquities;[72] but I must confess that in the absence of further proof I am quite disposed to consider it a *forgery*. It is not published by Cohen.

A coin of Constantine I. with the monogram ☧ on the helmet, and another with ☧ *tracé en creux* on a pedestal supporting a shield on which are the letters **VOT. PR.**, originally published by Garrucci,[73] are now rejected by him as false;[74] and he adds, in the case of the latter

[67] "Num. Cost.," 1st ed., No. 65.

[68] "Nummus ex aere parvi moduli in quo Constantini caput et litteræ partim deperditæ. In aversa parte monogramma Christi decussatum litteris utrinque **A** et Ω et litteræ in gyro detritæ." Cf. Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 1st ed., No. 66. This coin, in the opinion of Cavedoni ("Appendice," p. 5), is a worn-out example of the well-known piece of Constantius II. with the legend **SALVS AVG. NOSTRI** effaced from around the monogram ☧ placed between the letters **A** and Ω (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 260).

[69] "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed. p. 253; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 109.

[70] "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. vi., *Præfatio*, pp. xiii. and viii.

[71] "Appendice," p. 5.

[72] Martigny, "Dict. des Antiq. Chrétiennes," p. 458; Rev. R. St. John Tyrwhitt, Smith, "Dict. of Christ. Antiq.," *s. v.* **A** and **Ω**.

[73] "Num. Cost.," 1st ed., Nos. 13 and 16.

[74] "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 253; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 110.

coin, that he has seen another specimen on which the pedestal bears the monogram ☧ *gravé en creux* in the same manner and probably by the same hand.

To the coin which has been supposed to refer to the "baptism" of Constantine I. I have already referred.[75]

To these may be added the false or uncertain coin of Constantine II. *Cæsar.*

Obv.—**D. N. CONSTANTINVS IV. N. C.** Bust of Constantine II. with diadem.

Rev.—**VICTORIA AVGG.** Seated female figure holding a sceptre in the left hand and a Victory in the right; in front of her in the field ☩; in the exergue **TR. S.** (*Treveris secunda*).

This piece was published together with another of silver by Garrucci[76] from Tristan,[77] as a *gold coin*, but Cavedoni[78] has shown that it was really described by this author as a *silver* one, whilst the other was of *brass*. The **AVGG.** has been supposed by Garrucci to refer to Licinius and Constantine, and to have been issued anterior to 323, perhaps being struck in 316 (?).

The fact is that in all probability the coin has been confounded with the pieces of Constantine III. (407—411) which have the legend **VICTORIA AAAVGGGG.**, and which were attributed by Banduri to Constantine II.[79] Garrucci, however, in his second edition[80] still speaks of it as an *aureus*, though he does not place it in his catalogue, "in order to give no occasion for new disputes."

[75] § I. under the year 337, *note* 113.

[76] "Num. Cost.," 1st ed., No. 10.

[77] Vol. iii. p. 594.

[78] "Appendice," p. 4.

[79] Cf. Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 108, 177; Cavedoni, "Appendice," p. 4.

[80] "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 253; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 108.

He also states that the legend **VICTORIA AVGG.** is enumerated among the types of the coins of Constantine II. by Mezzabarba,[81] who gives the same legend as occurring on those of Nepotian. Every numismatist, however, knows the value of the work of Mediobarbus,[82] and no such coins, either of Constantine II. or Nepotian, are described by Cohen. The legend **VICTORIA AVGG.** may be found on the brass coins of Constantius II. and Constans, but with a different type.[83]

In these circumstances I consider that the coin is either a forgery, or that it has been confounded with the coins of Constantine III., and then wrongly attributed.

§ XIX. CHRONOLOGY FROM THE DEATH OF CONSTANTINE I. TO THE DEATH OF JULIAN.

A.D.

337. Constantius II., Emperor in the East, gives Illyricum to his brother Constans.

338. The sons of Constantine meet in Pannonia.

340. War between Constantine II. and Constans. The former is killed,[84] and the East falls to the lot of Constantius II., and Constans becomes sole master of the West.

341. Arian synod of Antioch, at which Constantius II. was present.

[81] P. 477, ed. Argelati. Mediolan., fol. 1730.

[82] Cf. Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. vi., *Præfatio*, pp. iv. —xii.

[83] § XX. "Coins of Constantius II. and Constans. A. First Series after the Death of Constantine II."

[84] The statement of Philostorgius ("Hist. Eccles.," iii. c. 1) that Constans plotted against the life of his brother, or that Constantine II. was poisoned by his brother at Nicomedia (ii. c. 16), cannot be accepted as true (cf. Socrat., "Hist. Eccles.," ii. c. 5; Sozomen, "Hist. Eccles.," iii. c. 2; Theod., "Hist. Eccles.," ii. c. 4).

A.D.

Synod of Sardica. **347.**

Constans killed by Magnentius, who also kills Nepotian after a short reign of twenty-eight days, and makes himself master of the whole of the Western Empire except Illyricum, which is conquered by Vetranio. **350.**

Constantius II. sends his nephew Constantius Gallus to govern Thrace and Egypt as *Cæsar*. He deprives Vetranio of the purple, and defeats Magnentius at the battle of Mursa, conquering Illyricum and Italy. **351.**

Constantius II. drives Magnentius into Gaul. **352.**

Defeat and death of Magnentius by his own hand. His brother Decentius also commits suicide. **353.**

Marriage of Constantius II. and Eusebia.

Constantius Gallus put to death. **354.**

Julian the Apostate made *Cæsar*, receiving the government of Britain, Gaul, Spain, and Mauretania Tingitana. **355.**

Visit of Constantius II. to Rome. **357.**

Julian proclaimed *Augustus* at Paris. Death of his wife Helena. **360.**

War between Julian and Constantius II. Death of the latter at Mopsucrene, near Tarsus. Julian sole emperor. **361.**

Death of Julian. **363.**

§ XX. COINS OF CONSTANTINE II., CONSTANTIUS II., AND CONSTANS AUGUSTI.[85]

A. Coins with ☩.

Obv.—**CONSTANTINVS AVG.** Bust of Constantine II. to right, with diadem and with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

[85] For the classification of this section I have to record my acknowledgment of the labours of the late Mr. de Salis, whose admirable arrangement of the Roman coins in the British Museum enables the numismatist to at once find all the coins

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Two soldiers standing holding spear and shield; between them the *labarum*, on which ☧; in the exergue **TR. P.** (*Treveris prima*). Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. IV. No. 8.)

Obv.—**FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS AVG.** Bust of Constantius II. to right, laureated, with cuirass, or with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Same type. On the *labarum* ☧; in the exergue **TR. P.** (*Treveris prima*) or **TR. S.** (*Treveris secunda*). Æ.

(British Museum.)

Obv.—**FL. IVL. CONSTANS AVG.** Bust of Constans to right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Same type. On the *labarum* ☧; in the exergue **TR. S.** Æ.

(British Museum.)

B. Coins with ☧.

I have not seen any coin of Constantine II. of this series, but it doubtless exists. That attributed to it by the late Mr. de Salis I have restored to Constantine I.[86]

of the sons of Constantine when *Augusti* which bear Christian emblems. The advantage of his system, *i.e.* that of arranging coins under the mints in which they were issued, could not have better testimony. It would have been a work of considerable time under the old system of arrangement to have succeeded in finding the coins searched for. It is at present an impossibility from published catalogues, such as that of M. Cohen, to properly classify any portion of the Roman series after the introduction of mint marks (see my Introduction, *note* 19). Mr. Grueber also deserves my best thanks for sending me a catalogue of the coins included in this section.

[86] See § XII., "Coins of Constantine I., &c."

Obv.—**FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS AVG.** Bust of Constantius II. to right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Same type. On the *labarum* ☧; in the exergue **S. CON.** (*Secunda Constantinâ* [Arles]). Æ.

(British Museum. Pl. IV. No. 4.)

Obv.—**IMP. CONSTANS AVG.** Bust of Constans to right, with diadem and with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Same type. On the *labarum* ☧; in the exergue **S. CONST.** Æ.

(British Museum.)

C. Coins with ☧.

Obv.—**CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG.** Bust of Constantine II. to right, with diadem and with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Same type. On the *labarum* ☧; in the exergue **ϵ. SIS⌣** (5 *Siscia*). Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. IV. No. 5. Other examples have in the exergue **A. SIS.**, **A. SIS⌣.**, **ϵ. SIS.**, etc. Similar coins also bearing the title **MAX.** were issued at Lyons—**P. LG.**, **S. LG.**, British Museum, Pl. IV. No. 6. They are erroneously attributed by M. Fouardent, "Rev. Num.," 1856, p. 253, Pl. VII. No. 2, to Constantine I. the Great.)

Obv.—**CONSTANTINVS IVN. AVG.** Bust of Constantine II. to right, with diadem and with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Same type. On the *labarum* ☧; in the exergue **S. LG.** (*Secunda Lugduno*).[87] Æ.

[87] On a coin of Constantine II., in the British Museum, struck at Lugdunum, there is on the *labarum* the letter **S.** Letters

(British Museum. A similar coin occurs at Aquileia—**AQ. S.**, but the obverse legend is **D. N. CONSTANTINVS P. F. AVG.**)

Obv.—**CONSTANTIVS P. F. AVG.** Bust of Constantius II. to right, with diadem and with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Same type. On the *labarum* ☧; in the exergue **A. SIS.** or **B. SIS^{c}**; **Γ. SIS**, **Γ. SIS**ᴗ. Æ.

(British Museum. Other examples were struck at Lyons—**P. LG.**, **S. LG.**, and at Aquileia—**AQ. P.**, **AQ. S.** The letters **P. F.** are omitted on those of the former mint, and **D. N.** are added on those of the latter. On similar coins struck at Arles—**S. CONST.**, the obverse legend is **FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS AVG.**)

Obv.—**CONSTANS P. F. AVG.** Bust of Constans to right, with diadem and with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Same type. On the *labarum* ☧; in the exergue **A. SIS.** or **B. SIS.**, **Γ. SIS.**, **Є. SIS.**, etc. Æ.[88]

(British Museum. Similar coins were issued at Lyons—**P. LG.**, **S. LG.**, and Aquileia—**AQ. P.**, **AQ. S.**; on the former the letters **P. F.** are omitted.)

No coins of this series with either ☧ or **X** were issued at *Rome*, *Thessalonica*, *Constantinople*, *Cyzicus*, *Nicomedia*, *Antioch*, or *Alexandria*.

The rare little coin of Constantine II., *Augustus* with

on the *labarum* of the coins of Constantius II. and Constans were probably struck soon after the death of Constantine II. See *note* 90.

[88] Cohen publishes coins of this type of Constantius II., with the obverse legend **CONSTANTIVS MAX. AVG.**, from the collection of *M. Asselin* ("Suppl.," No. 16), and of Constans, with the legend **CONSTANS MAX. AVG.**, from the *Musée de Danemarc* ("Méd. Imp.," No. 185), but no exergual letters are given. See § I. under the year 315, *note* 72.

the legend **SPES PVBLICA**, I have already described in a previous section.[89]

COINS OF CONSTANTIUS II. AND CONSTANS.

A. First Series after the Death of Constantine II. in 340.

Obv.—**CONSTANTIVS AVG.** Bust of Constantius II. to right, with diadem and with cuirass.

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Same type. On the *labarum* ☧; in the exergue **P. LG.** (*Prima Lugduno*). Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. IV. No. 7.)

Obv.—**CONSTANS P. F. AVG.** Bust of Constans to right with diadem, and with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Same type. On the *labarum* ☧; in the exergue **P. LG.**[90] Æ.

(British Museum.)

Obv.—Same type.

Rev.—Same type. On the *labarum* ☧; in the exergue **P. ARL.** (*Prima Arelato*). Æ.

[89] § X., "Coins of Constantine I. and II."

[90] On some of the coins of Constans and Constantius II. of this type, the *labarum* is adorned with the letter **M.**, and M. de Witte has suggested ("Rev. Num.," 1857, p. 197) that perhaps this is the initial of the *Virgin Mary*. Mr. King ("Early Christ. Num.," p. 43) has on the other hand proposed that the letter **M** is the initial of "**M**agnentius," who was commander-in-chief of the Jovians and Herculians under Constans. He adds that the letters **C** and **O** are found on the coinage of his brothers (?) in the same position, and that, perhaps, the names of persons may be discovered who held a similar office, and whose name would well take themselves to these initials! But neither of these theories are worthy of serious thought. Moreover, how are the letters **G.**, **I.**, **T.**, or **V.**, which are similarly placed on the coins of Constans (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 141) and Constantius II. (Cohen, Nos. 240, 242, 248) to be explained?

(British Museum, Pl. IV. No. 8. A similar coin was issued at Antioch—**S. M. ANT.**—but the obverse legend is **D. N. CONSTANS P. F. AVG.**)

Obv.—**CONSTANTIVS P. F. AVG.** Bust of Constantius II. to right with diadem, and with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—**VICTORIA AVGG.** Victory walking to left holding wreath and palm, or two wreaths, in the field, either to right or left ☧; in the exergue ✳ **SIS** ✳ or ✳ **Δ. SIS** ✳; **Є. SIS.**, etc. Æ.

(British Museum. Cf. Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 267.)

Obv.—**CONSTANS P. F. AVG.** Bust of Constans to right with diadem, and with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—**VICTORIA AVGG.** Same type. In the field either to right or left ☧; in the exergue ✳ **B. SIS.** ✳; or ✳ **Γ. SIS.** ✳. Æ.

(British Museum. Cf. Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," Nos. 158, 159.)

No coins of this series with either ☧ or **X** were issued at *Treves, Rome, Aquileia, Thessalonica, Constantinople, Cyzicus, Nicomedia,* or *Alexandria.*

B. Second Series after the Death of Constantine II. in 340.

Obv.—**FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS AVG.** Bust of Constantius II. to right, laureated, and with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—**PAX AVGVSTORVM.** Constantius II. standing holding *labarum*, on which ☧; in the exergue **TR. S.** (*Treveris secunda*). Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. IV., No. 9. Cf. Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 94.)

Obv.—**FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS P. F. AVG.** Bust of Constantius II. to right, with diadem, and with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—**VIRTVS DD. NN. AVGG.** Constantius II. standing, holding *labarum*, on which ☧; in the exergue **TR.** (*Treveris*). Æ.

(British Museum. Not published by Cohen.)

Obv.—**FL. IVL. CONSTANS P. F. AVG.** Bust of Constans to right with diadem, and with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—**VIRTVS DD. NN. AVGG.** Constans standing holding *labarum*, on which ☧; in the exergue **TR.** Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. IV. No. 10. Not published by Cohen.)

These three coins appear to have been issued only at *Treves*.

Obv.—**D. N. CONSTANTIVS P. F. AVG.** Bust of Constantius II. to right, with diadem, and with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—**FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO.** Emperor holding phœnix and *labarum*, on which ☧, standing in boat guided by Victory; in exergue **TR. P.** or **TR. S.** Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. IV. No. 11.)

Obv.—**D. N. CONSTANS P. F. AVG.** Bust of Constans to right, with diadem and with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—**FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO.** Same type. Æ.

(British Museum.)

This type was issued also at *Lyons*, *Arles*, *Rome*, *Aquileia*, *Siscia*, *Thessalonica*, and *Antioch* (with ☧ or ✝ on the *labarum*), and generally of two sizes, a larger and a

smaller. On some of the coins there may be seen the letter **A** behind the bust, or in the field of the reverse. Sometimes the emperor holds a Victory instead of the phœnix. On a well-preserved specimen of a coin of Constans struck at Treves, in the possession of Mr. H. W. Henfrey, the monogram on the *labarum* has the form ☧.

Obv.—**D. N. CONSTANTIVS P. F. AVG.** Bust of Constantius II. to left, with diadem, and with *paludamentum* and cuirass, and holding a globe; behind **N**.

Rev.—**FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO.** Emperor holding *labarum* on which ☧ and shield; before him two captives. In the exergue **R. P., R. S., R. T., R. Q.** (*Româ, prima, secunda, tertia, quarta*). Æ.

(British Museum.)

Obv.—**D. N. CONSTANS P. F. AVG.** Bust of Constans to left, with diadem, and with *paludamentum* and cuirass, and holding a globe.

Rev.—**FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO.** Same type. Æ.

(British Museum.)

This type was issued also at *Aquileia*, *Constantinople*, *Cyzicus* (with sometimes ☩ on the *labarum*), *Nicomedia*, *Antioch* (with sometimes ☩ on the *labarum*), and *Alexandria* (with sometimes **X** on the *labarum*). For varieties of the type, see Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," CONSTANTIUS II., Nos. 213—235; CONSTANS, Nos. 112—123.

With reference to the legend **FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO** (*Felix Temporis Reparatio*), M. Cohen has well remarked [91] that "the happy reparation" did not extend to the softening of manners, for the types of the coins as

[91] "Méd. Imp.," vol. vi. p. 264, *note*.

a rule represent scenes of the grossest cruelty. At the introduction of Christianity artistic style seems to have perished, and the coinage of this and later periods, to quote M. Cohen's expression, can be summed up in two words,—"monotonie dans les types, lorsqu'ils ne sont pas barbares, barbarie lorsqu'ils ne sont pas monotones."

§ XXI. OTHER COINS OF CONSTANTIUS II. AND CONSTANS. FIRST INTRODUCTION OF A AND Ω ON COINS.

The monogram ☧ may be seen represented on the shield held by Constantius II., and sometimes on the field of the reverse on several gold coins with the legend **GLORIA REIPVBLICAE** (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," Nos. 79, 80, 85), whilst on another gold coin with the legend **VICTOR OMNIVM GENTIVM**, preserved in the *Musée de Dancmarc* (Cohen, No. 108), and struck at Treves, the emperor is holding the *labarum;* as also on a silver coin struck at Aquileia, with the legend **TRIVMPHATOR GENTIVM BARBARARVM** (Cohen, No. 39).

It is under Constantius II. that the brass coins with the legend **HOC SIGNO VICTOR ERIS** are first issued[92] (Cohen, No. 250), on which the emperor is

[92] See § I. *note* 35; and § XVIII., "False or Uncertain Coins of Constantine I. and II." On a marble given by Bosio, the monogram ☧ is surmounted by the legend **IN HOC VINCES,** and underneath it **SINFONIA ET FILIIS,** "ce qui, par allusion à la vision de l'Empereur, exprime," says Martigny ("Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.," p. 417), "certainement la victoire que **SINFONIA** et ses fils avaient remportée par la vertu du nom de Jésus-Christ, ou peut-être une exhortation aux chrétiens de se prévaloir de ce nom sacré pour triompher des ennemis de leur salut."

represented holding the *labarum* and a sceptre, and crowned by Victory. (British Museum, Pl. IV. No. 12.)

A splendid gold medallion of Constans, formerly in the *Cabinet des Médailles* at Paris (Cohen, No. 12), struck at Siscia, represents on the obverse Constans with the cuirass ornamented with the ☧, and on the reverse the ☧ between the heads of Constans and Constantius II. seated,[93] whilst on his silver medallions struck at Siscia and Aquileia (Cohen, No. 16), with the legend **TRIVMPHATOR GENTIVM BARBARARVM**, as also on a gold coin in the British Museum, with, on the obverse, **CONSTANS MAX. AVG.**, and on the reverse **SPES REIPVBLICAE**, struck at Siscia (Cohen, No. 52), the emperor is standing holding the *labarum*, whilst on some brass coins with the legend **VICTORIA AVGG.** (Cohen, Nos. 158, 159) there is in the field ☧.

The most important innovation of this period was the introduction of the letters **A** and **Ω**. I have already pointed out[94] that the coin of Constantine I. with these letters cannot be relied on, and I have now further to state that many numismatists and others[95] have accepted a gold coin of Constantius II. with these letters, which they have described as follows:—

Obv.—**CONSTANTIVS P. F. AVG.** Bust of Constantius II. to the left, radiated.

Rev.—**A** ☧ **Ω** in the middle of the field. *N*.

The fact is the reverse legend was really originally

[93] See § XVII., "Coins of Constantine I. with the *nimbus*."

[94] § XVIII., "False or Uncertain Coins of Constantine I."

[95] Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 1st ed., No. 64; followed by Martigny, "Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.," p. 458, who is again copied by the Rev. R. St. John Tyrwhitt, in Smith's "Dict. of Christ. Antiq.," *s. v.* **A** and **Ω**.

described by Banduri[96] as **A** ☧ **Q**., and so it is given by Mionnet,[97] and by Cohen[98] from *Caylus*.

I must however be allowed, with Cavedoni,[99] to doubt the authenticity of this piece.

These letters do, however, occur upon the second brass coins of Constantius II. struck about (?) 350—353 :—

Obv.—**D. N. CONSTANTIVS P. F. AVG.** Bust of Constantius II. to the right, with diadem, and with *paludamentum* and cuirass; sometimes behind the head **A**.

Rev.—**SALVS AVG. NOSTRI.** In the field ☧ between **A** and Ω. In the exergue **TR. S.** ✳. Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. IV. No. 13. Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 260.)

The letters **A** and Ω may also be found on a rare silver medallion of Constans :—

Obv.—**D. N. CONSTANS P. F. AVG.** Bust of Constans with diadem.

Rev.—**VIRTVS EXERCITVM** (*sic*). Four military standards; on the second the letter **A**, and on the third ⋃; above ☧; in the exergue **R.** (*Romæ*). Æ. Med.

(Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. vi. p. 112; Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 28, from the *Musée de Vienne*.)

Cavedoni has suggested[100] that Constans, in striking this medallion at Rome, wished to testify his adherence to the Catholic dogma of the divinity and eternity of the

[96] Vol. ii. p. 227.
[97] "Méd. Rom.," vol. ii. p. 272.
[98] "Méd. Imp.," No. 154.
[99] "Appendice," p. 5.
[100] "Appendice," p. 15.

Incarnate Word in opposition to the Arian heresy favoured by his brother Constantius II. It may indeed have been struck soon after the council of Sardica, in 347, when Constans sent two of the bishops who had attended the Council with letters to his brother requesting him to attend to all that the bishops might say, and threatening him with war if he did not, to which Constantius, who was at Antioch, agreed.[101]

Though these are the earliest examples of the A and Ω on *coins*, these letters were probably employed before this date,[102] perhaps even before the Council of Nice in 325, as proved by the tomb of the martyr Heraclius, who suffered long before the reign of Constantine, found in the cemetery of Priscilla,[103] by an inscription given by Fabretti,[104] and by a cup given by Boldetti from the cemetery of Callixtus.[105] The Arians carefully avoided their use,[106] and it was not till about 347 that it commenced to come into general use in any case on coins.[107]

The origin of these letters can of course be traced to the words of St. John, "I am *Alpha* and *Omega*, the

[101] Socrates, "Hist. Eccles.," ii. c. 22, 23; Theodoret, "Hist. Eccles.," ii. c. 8.

[102] Martigny, "Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.," p. 42.

[103] Aringhi, vol. i. p. 605, Roma, 1651—1659.

[104] "Inscr. Ant. Explic.," p. 789, Roma, 1699.

[105] "Oss. sopra i cim.," etc., p. 194, Pl. III. No. 4, Roma, 1720.

[106] Giorgi, "De Monogrammate Christi," p. 10, Roma, 1738.

[107] The earliest *public* monument from a sacred building bearing the A ✳ Ω is that preserved in the Hôtel de Ville at Sion, in Switzerland, and dated in the year 377, under the consulship of Gratian with Merobaudus (Le Blant, "Inscr. Chrét. de la Gaule," vol. i. p. 496, No. 369; Mommsen, "Inscr. Confoeder. Helvet. Lat.," p. 8, No. 10; Prof. Babington in Smith's "Dict. of Christ. Antiq.," vol. i. p. 848). See § XV., "Remarks on the Forms of the Crosses adopted by Constantine I."

beginning and the end, the first and the last,"[108] and the poet Prudentius, who was born during the reign of Constantius II. and Constans (348), mentions them as follows:[109]—

"Corde natus ex parentis, ante mundi exordium
Alpha et ⱠⱠ cognominatus; ipse fons et clausula
Omnium, quæ sunt, fuerunt, quæque post futura sunt."

As to the form ⱠⱠ instead of **Ω**, the Padre Garrucci[110] asserts that the **Ω** nowhere occurs on any authentic Christian monument, and condemns, as also does De Rossi, a ring published by Costadoni on which is a dolphin between the letters **A** and **Ω**.

§ XXII. COINS OF NEPOTIAN, VETRANIO, MAGNENTIUS, DECENTIUS, CONSTANTIUS GALLUS, AND JULIAN.

350.

Obv.—**D. N. IVL. NEPOTIANVS P. F. AVG.** Bust of Nepotian to right, with diadem and with *paludamentum*.

Rev.—**VRBS ROMA.** Rome helmeted, seated to left, holding a globe, surmounted with ☧ (☧) and a spear reversed; at her side a shield; in the exergue **R. P.** (*Româ Prima*). *N*.

(Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 1, from the *Musée du Vatican*.)

This coin was minted at Rome, of which city Nepotian made himself master in 350.

[108] Ἐγὼ τὸ Α καὶ τὸ Ω, ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος, ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος. Rev. xxii. 13; cf. i. 8, 11; xxi. 6.

[109] "Cathomirinon," ix. 10.

[110] "Hagioglypta," p. 168, *note*.

Obv.—**D. N. VETRANIO P. F. AVG.** Bust of Vetranio to right, laureated, and with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—**SALVATOR REIPVBLICAE.** Vetranio walking to left, holding the *labarum*, on which ☧ and a spear, and crowned by Victory, who is following him. In the exergue **SIS.** (*Siscia*). Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. IV. No. 14; Cohen, "Med. Imp.," No. 2.)

On another coin of Vetranio of silver described by Cohen (No. 1) from *Welzl*, the reverse legend is **RESTITVTOR REIP.**, and the type, Vetranio standing holding the *labarum*.

The legend **SALVATOR REIPVBLICAE** is new. Eckhel writes,[111] "ab eruditis jam est observatum, vocabula *salvator, salvare*, a Christianorum disciplina, et SS. Patribus inventa, pro quo melius Latino dices *servator, servare*."

Vetranio also issued brass coins with the legend **HOC SIGNO VICTOR ERIS** (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," Nos. 7 and 8), as may be found on the coins of Constantius II. and of Constantius Gallus, whilst on some others with the legend **CONCORDIA MILITVM** he is represented standing holding *two labara*, and above his head a *star* (Cohen, No. 4).

350—353.

Obv.—**D. N. MAGNENTIVS P. F. AVG.** Bust of Magnentius to the right, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—**SALVS DD. NN. AVG. ET CAES.** written round ☧. In the exergue **AMB.** (*Ambiano*). Æ.

(Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," Nos. 42—45.)

[111] "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 120.

The same type occurs upon the coins of his son Decentius *Cæsar* (Cohen, No. 20).

The mint of *Ambianum* (Amiens) was established by Magnentius, but was suppressed soon after his death by Constantius II.

Some other brass coins of Magnentius (Cohen, Nos. 47, 58), and Decentius (Nos. 31 and 39) with the legend **VICT. DD. NN. AVG. ET CAES.**, represent two Victories holding a crown on which **VOT. V. MVLT. X.** and on the crown the monogram ☧ or ☩ (?).

351—354.

A silver coin of Constantius Gallus, preserved in the *Musée de Danemarc* (Cohen, No. 4), represents this *Cæsar* as holding the *labarum*, whilst another (No. 17) shows a *star* in a crown of laurel surmounted by a *cross*. The legend **HOC SIGNO VICTOR ERIS** occurs on one of his gold coins struck at Thessalonica (No. 10), as also on some of his brass (Nos. 45, 46), as we have seen it on the coins of Constantius II. and Vetranio.

Some curious coins of this prince with the *Isis* reverse (Nos. 49, 50) show that he to a certain extent must have embraced the Pagan opinions of his brother Julian.

When Constantius II. made Gallus *Cæsar* in 351, and sent him to Antioch to take command of the East, it is recorded[112] that as he was entering the city the *Saviour's sign* appeared in the East, and a pillar in the form of a *cross* was seen in the heavens to the astonishment of the beholders;[113] and upon the occasion of Constantius's

[112] Socrat., "Hist. Eccles.," ii. c. 28.

[113] Valesius notes that the same is recorded in the Fasti of Idatius, after the consulate of Sergius and Nigrinianus.

victory over Magnentius in 353, the *sign of the cross* is said to have appeared to him of immense size and exceeding the brightness of day. It was noticed by the soldiers of both armies, but frightened Magnentius and encouraged Constantius.[114]

355—363.

Immediately on the accession of Julian the Apostate all Christian emblems were abolished and Pagan customs and worship were re-established. In consequence most of the coins of this Emperor bear the images of Apollo, Jupiter, the **DEVS SANCTVS NILVS**, and of many Egyptian deities, Anubis, Serapis, Isis, etc., several of them representing himself as Serapis, and his wife Helena as Isis.

It is then hardly to be expected that any coin of this prince would be in existence bearing Christian signs; and yet there is one—a bronze medallion—which, if it may be trusted, bears marks of Christianity. Its description is as follows:—

Obv.—**D. N. CL. IVLIANVS N. C.** Bust of Julian to right, bare, with cuirass.

Rev.—**VIRTVS AVG. N.** Julian standing to left holding a laurel-branch and a standard, and

[114] Philostorg., "Hist. Eccles.," iii. c. 26, who adds that the same sign appeared at Jerusalem about the third hour of the day, which is called the Day of Pentecost, and that it stretched from Mount Calvary to the Mount of Olives like a rainbow; a story that is given by Sozomen ("Hist. Eccles.," iv. c. 5), under the year 348, when Cyril succeeded Maximus in the government of the Church at Jerusalem. Cf. Gibbon, "Rom. Emp.," ed. Smith, vol. iii. pp. 66, 67. I may add that Philostorgius was a remarkably credulous man, and that his authority is very suspicious (Lardner, "Credibility, etc.," vol. iii. p. 598; Gibbon, "Rom. Emp.," vol. ii. p. 365, *note* a; cf. vol. iii. p. 58, *note* 44).

placing the right foot on the back of a captive seated on the ground; beneath the standard ☧. Æ. Med.

(Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 51, from *Wiczay.*)

I must remark that the description of this piece is taken from *Wiczay,* and the only point in its favour is that it shows Julian as bearing the title of *Cæsar.* If really authentic it must have been struck immediately on his appointment to that honour in 355. I cannot, however, say that the medallion is above suspicion.

It is recorded of Julian that directly after he received the wound which caused his death, he took some of his blood in his hand and threw it up towards heaven, crying, "Galilæan, thou hast conquered!"[115]

§ XXIII. CHRONOLOGY FROM THE TIME OF JOVIAN TO THAT OF THEODOSIUS I. THE GREAT.

	A.D.
Jovian sole Emperor.	**363.**
Death of Jovian. Valentinian I. and Valens. The former takes the West, including Western Illyricum and Africa; the latter the rest of the European provinces, Asia and Egypt.	**364.**
Revolt of Procopius in the East.	**365.**
Defeat and death of Procopius by order of Valens.	**366.**
Valentinian I. associates his eldest son Gratian as *Augustus.*	**367.**
Marriage of Gratian with Flavia Maxima Constantia, the daughter of Constantius II.	**374.**

[115] Νενίηκας, Γαλιλαῖε. Theodoret, "Hist. Eccles.," iii. c. 25. Philostorgius ("Hist. Eccles.," vii. c. 15) says that Julian sprinkled his blood towards the Sun, and cursed his gods, exclaiming, "take thy fill." Cf. Sozomen, "Hist. Eccles.," vi. c. 2.

A.D.

375. Death of Valentinian I., and partition of the West between his two sons. Gratian takes the provinces which formed the government of Julian the Apostate, *i.e.* Britain, Gaul, Spain, and Mauretania Tingitana; Valentinian II. Italy, Rhætia, Africa, and Illyricum.

378. Defeat of Valens by the Goths and his death.

379. Elevation of Theodosius.

383. Gratian killed by Magnus Maximus, who obtains his share of the Empire and of Northern Italy. Theodosius associates his son Arcadius as *Augustus*.

388. Theodosius defeats and kills Magnus Maximus, and reinstates Valentinian II., who is now sole Emperor of the West.

390. Temple of Serapis destroyed.

392. Arbogastes murders Valentinian II. and sets up Eugenius, who takes possession of the same provinces as Magnus Maximus, Theodosius being recognised in the rest of the Empire.

394. Defeat and death of Eugenius. Theodosius, now sole Emperor, associates Honorius, his second son, as *Augustus*.

395. Death of Theodosius and final division of the Eastern and Western Empires. Arcadius and Honorius, Emperors of the East and West, take respectively the shares of Valens and Valentinian I.

§ XXIV. COINS OF JOVIAN AND HIS SUCCESSORS TILL THE DEATH OF THEODOSIUS I. THE GREAT.

Under Jovian, the successor of Julian the Apostate, in spite of a few coins bearing Pagan types with the legend **VOTA PVBLICA** (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," Nos. 22—32), and which continue to circulate during the reigns of

Valentinian I., Valens, and Gratian, Christian emblems again reappear, and the *labarum* terminating in a *cross* with the monogram ☧ or the simple *labarum* occur upon the coins (Cohen, Nos. 17, 21).[116]

Under Valentinian I. the ordinary type is that of the Emperor carrying the *labarum* adorned either with the monogram ☧ [British Museum, Pl. V. No. 1], or the plain **X**. The most notable reintroduction is that of the form ☩ which is generally carried at the top of the sceptre held by the Emperor (Cohen, No. 20), but it sometimes occurs in the *field* of the coin (Cohen, No. 25). Similar emblems occur on the coins during the reigns of his brother Valens, of the usurper Procopius, of his son Gratian, who issued pieces of all three metals with the legend **GLORIA NOVI SAECVLI**, and Valentinian II.,[117] and of Theodosius I. the Great.

The coins, both gold and brass, of Aelia Flaccilla, the wife of Theodosius I., who was much esteemed for her piety, also exhibit interesting Christian emblems (the ☧, ☩ and ✠), among the most striking of which is the type of Victory seated inscribing on a shield the ☧ (British Museum, Pl. V. No. 2), a reverse that occurs frequently

[116] Sabatier ("Mon. Byz.," vol. i. pp. 34, 58) speaks of a coin of Jovian, on which he carries the globe *cruciger*, as struck at *Ravenna* (cf. Martigny, "Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.," p. 460). I have already pointed out ("Num. Chron.," N.S., vol. i. p. 181, vol. ii. pp. 60, 253; "Handbook of Rom. Num.," p. 159) that Ravenna was not established as a mint till the reign of Honorius. Cf. Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," vol. vi. p. 386, *note*.

[117] In the exergue of some silver coins of Valens (Cohen, No. 59), of Gratian (Nos. 41, 42), and of Valentinian II. (No. 27), may be found **T** ☧ **∈**. A *quinarius* with the helmeted bust of Rome or Constantinople, and on the reverse **X** within a wreath, and in the exergue **TR**. (*Treviris*), in the collection of M. Espine, is attributed by Cohen ("Suppl.," p. 383) to the time of Valentinian II.

afterwards on the coins of other Empresses, whilst the coins of Magnus Maximus, usurper in Britain and Gaul, and of his son Victor (**BONO REIPVBLICAE NATI**)[118] and of Eugenius, usurper in Gaul, show more or less the same symbols.

§ XXV. COINS OF THE EMPERORS, ETC., FROM THE DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE UNDER THEODOSIUS I. TO THE END OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE, AND FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE EASTERN EMPIRE TO THE TIME OF LEONTIUS.

After the defeat of Theodosius I. the Empire was divided between his two sons Arcadius and Honorius,[119]

[118] After Theodosius had defeated Maximus, and after his arrival in Rome, "a new and strange *star*" is said to have been seen in the sky, according to the statement of Philostorgius ("Hist. Eccles.," x. c. 9; cf. xi. c. 7), who gives many wonderful details about it; but both Socrates ("Hist. Eccles.," v. c. 14) and Sozomen ("Hist. Eccles.," vii. c. 15) are silent on this point. The statement, however, is of no authority. Cf. § XXII., *note* 114.

[119] The late Abbé Cavedoni has published ("Rev. Num.," 1857, p. 309, Pl. VIII.) some brass medals issued during the reign of Honorius, bearing, in most cases, a representation of the head of Alexander, but in one case that of Honorius, and having on the reverse an ass suckling her young, sometimes accompanied by the legend **D. N. IHV.** (*sic*) **XPS DEI FILIVS,** or **IOVIS FILIVS,** or **ASINA,** or, as on a large medallion of the contorniate class, the monogram ☧. The effigy of Alexander the Great seems to have been considered with the idea of "protection," and St. John Chrysostom reproached ("Opera," vol. ii. p. 243) certain bad Christians of his time for wearing as amulets medals of bronze with the head of Alexander the Macedonian (*νομίσματα χαλκᾶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος ταῖς κεφαλαῖς καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ περιδεσμούντων*). These medals were, in the opinion of Eckhel ("Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 173), symbolic representations made by the Christians; but Tanini appears to have thought that they were satirical pieces fabricated by the pagans, to turn into derision

the former taking the Eastern, the latter the Western provinces. **CONOB** for the *Eastern*, and **COMOB** for the *Western*, became the adopted exergual mint-marks; the latter with the slight distinction of **M** for **N**, so as to resemble **CONOB** and yet to designate the Western mints, and almost always accompanied by letters in the *field;* the former *never*.[120]

About this time the type of Victory holding a globe surmounted by a cross was introduced (Sabatier, "Mon. Byz." ARCADIUS, vol. i. p. 404; Cohen, "Méd. Imp." HONORIUS, No. 24), and the *Greek Cross* may be seen on the *exagia solidi* of Arcadius, Honorius, and Theodosius II. (Sab. "Mon. Byz.," Pl. III. No. 9; Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 6; British Museum, Pl. V. No. 3).

The coins of the Western Empire will first claim our attention.

A. *The West.*—A remarkable gold coin of the Emperor Honorius, in the collection of Dr. John Evans (Pl. V. No. 4), to which I have in another section alluded,[121] represents him, crowned by a hand from heaven, holding a spear surmounted by ☩ on the head of an animal which appears like a lion with a serpent's or a dragon's tail. On certain gold coins of Ælia Galla Placidia, wife of Constantius III., colleague of Honorius for a few months, the ☩ or a *cross* appears on her right shoulder, whilst the ☩ is within a wreath on the reverse (cf. Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," Nos. 1—16; British Museum, Pl. V.

the name of Christian; whilst Cavedoni is of opinion that "they are the works of certain evil Christians, or the Gnostics, or Basilidians, who employed these pieces as 'pierres astrifères' to circulate among the people their false and detestable doctrines."

[120] F. W. Madden, "On the Coins of Theodosius I. and II.," in the "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1861, vol. i. p. 176.

[121] § X., "Coins of Constantine I. and Constantine II."

No. 5), and the hand from heaven crowning the *Empress* is introduced (Cohen, Nos. 2, 10, 11), as had also been the case on the coins of Eudoxia in the East.

The usurper Priscus Attalus seems to have dropped Christian emblems, and Rome having been sacked by Alaric who placed him on his throne, he dared to strike silver medallions twice the size of a five-shilling piece, and gold and silver coins, with the presumptuous legend **INVICTA ROMA AETERNA** (Cohen, Nos. 1, 3—5). The usual emblems occur on the coins of John, proclaimed Emperor in 423.

Valentinian III. appears to have been the first to wear *the cross on his diadem*, if the gold medallion is genuine (Cohen, No. 1 from *Banduri*), and holding a cross and a globe on which a Victory; and on others of his coins changes the ordinary captive trampled under foot to a *human-headed serpent*[122] (Cohen, No. 11; British Museum, Pl. V. No. 6). The type of the Emperor holding the *mappa* or *volumen* and a *long cross* was introduced. Gold coins of his sister Justa Grata Honoria have the legend **BONO REIPVBLICAE** and the usual Christian emblems. His wife Licinia Eudoxia also bore the *cross on her diadem* on her coins struck in Italy (Cohen, No. 1; British Museum, Pl. V. No. 7).

I may here mention that other coins have been attributed to this Empress by the late Mr. de Salis,[123] having on the obverse the legend **AEL. EVDOXIA AVG.**— (1) The coin with legend **IMP. XXXXII. COS. XVII P. P.** given by Sabatier[124] to Eudoxia, wife of Theodo-

[122] § X., "Coins of Constantine I. and Constantino II."

[123] "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1867, vol. vii. p. 208, Pl. VII., Nos. 10 and 14; Pl. VIII. No. 1. See under B. *The East.*

[124] "Mon. Byz.," vol. i. p. 121, No. 7; Pl. VI. No. 1.

sius II.; (2) The coin with **VICTORIA AVGG.** unpublished by Cohen and Sabatier, but mentioned by me in my description of the Blacas collection;[125] and (3) the coin with **SALVS ORIENTIS FELICITAS OCCIDENTIS** (*Cab. des Méd.*, Paris, Pl. V. No. 8) given by Sabatier[126] to Eudoxia, wife of Arcadius. The type of this coin is the ☧ surrounded by a circle. Sabatier considered that the legend of this rare piece alluded to the division of the Empire, and that it might be compared with the coin of Arcadius with the legend **NOVA SPES REIPVBLICAE.** Mr. de Salis, on the contrary, was of opinion that this legend could only apply to Eudoxia the younger, and must have been struck on the occasion of her marriage with Valentinian III. on the 29th of October, 437. He adds, "she was **SALVS ORIENTIS** as well as **FELICITAS OCCIDENTIS,** because Theodosius II. had no son, and the Eastern Empire seemed likely, as well as the Western, to become the inheritance of his elder daughter's issue. **FELICITAS OCCIDENTIS** on the coins of the elder Eudoxia, would have been a silly piece of impertinence to Honorius, who had married in 398 Maria, the elder daughter of Stilicho. Maria lived till 407, while all the coins of Eudoxia the elder must have been issued between 400 and 404."

The usual types may be found on the coins of Petronius Maximus, Avitus, Majorian, Anthemius (on one of whose coins may be seen a tablet surmounted by a cross on which is the word **PAX**—Cohen, No. 9) and his wife, Eufemia—notably the type of the Emperor placing his foot

[125] "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1868, vol. viii. p. 45.
[126] "Mon. Byz.," vol. i. p. 110, No. 2; Pl. IV. No. 25.

upon a human-headed serpent[127]—but on the accession of Olybrius, he dared to introduce the legend **SALVS MVNDI,** engraving on his coins a *large cross* (British Museum, Pl. V. No. 9), though only enjoying a reign of about three months. The coins of Glycerius, Julius Nepos, and lastly Romulus Augustus, the last Emperor of the Western Empire, offer only the ordinary symbols (British Museum, Pl. V. No. 10).

B. *The East.*—Under Arcadius,[128] as I have already pointed out, the type of Victory holding a globe surmounted by a cross was introduced. Coins with the legend **NOVA SPES REIPVBLICAE** (British Museum, Pl. V. No. 11), and the type of Victory writing on a shield were struck (Sab. No. 17), matching the coins of his wife, Eudoxia, with the legend **SALVS RIPVBLICAE** *sic* (British Museum, Pl. V. No. 12), and Victory inscribing on a shield the ☧ (Sab., No. 3), a type that had already been in vogue at the time of her mother-in-law, Flaccilla. The question of the attribution of the coins bearing the name of *Eudoxia*—as I have already partly shown under A. *The West*—was for a long time

[127] § X., "Coins of Constantine I. and Constantine II."

[128] The Padre Garrucci has called my attention to two remarkable brass coins of Arcadius, published by the Cav. Biraghi in his work entitled, "I tre Sepolcri Santambrogiani," p. 27, Milan, 1864, of which the following is a description—(1) *Obv.*—**D. N. ARCADIVS P. F. AVG.** Bust to right; above ☩. *Rev.*—**SPES PVBLICA.** Emperor standing; above ☩; in field to left **XII.** and ☩. (2) *Obv.*—**D. N. ARCADIVS P. F. AVG.** Bust to right; above **A** ☩ **W.** *Rev.*—**SALVS PVBLICA.** Half figure from heaven crowning the Emperor; in the field to left ☩; in the exergue **ARP.** [? **TRP.**] These coins are not mentioned by Sabatier, and no specimens are in the British Museum. They are rather suspicious, and the **ARP.** cannot mean *Arles*, these letters as a mint-mark ceasing under Constantius II.

involved in great obscurity till set at rest by the late Mr. de Salis,[129] and many coins bearing the name of **EVDOXIA** with the ☧, given by Sabatier to the wife of Theodosius II., are now attributed to the wife of Arcadius. Theodosius II. issued coins with the legend **GLORIA ORVIS** (*sic*) **TERRAR.**, representing himself holding the *labarum* and a globe *cruciger*, and all the coins with the name **EVDOCIA** (*Athenais*) belong to the wife of this Emperor (British Museum, Pl. V. No. 13).

In 451 Marcian was proclaimed Emperor, owing to the influence of Pulcheria, the sister of Theodosius II., whom he married, and who was at this time about fifty years of age. A gold coin was struck by Marcian to commemorate this event, bearing the legend **FELICITER NPBTIIS** (*sic*), representing Marcian and Pulcheria, both with the *nimbus*, standing, joining hands; in the midst, Christ standing with the *nimbus cruciger*, placing one hand on each of their shoulders (Pl. V. No. 14). This piece, which is one of the most interesting examples of Christian numismatics, is preserved in the Hunter Museum, Glasgow, and I am indebted to Prof. Young, M.D., the Curator of the Museum, for an impression. The legend recalls the words of Juvenal: [130]

> "Signatæ tabulæ, dictum *feliciter*, ingens
> Cœna sedet, gremio jacuit nova *nupta* mariti."

A somewhat similar type, though treated in a pagan manner, occurs on the brass coins of Julia Paula, wife of Elagabalus, with the legend, **CONCORDIA AETERNA** (Cohen, Nos. 18, 19). The coins of Pulcheria have the same types as those of the other Empresses.

[129] "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1867, vol. vii. p. 203.

[130] "Sat." ii. 119; Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 192.

Some coins of Leo I. show the ☧ in the field (Sab., Pl. VI. No. 24), and represent him holding the *mappa* and *long cross* (No. 19), as on the coins of Valentinian III. above mentioned; but the type of the coins of his wife Verina, as well as those of Leo II. and Zeno (with the exception of the brass pieces of the latter with **INVICTA ROMA** and **S. C.**, *Senatus consulto*), his wife Ariadne, of Basiliscus, his wife Zenonis, and son Marcus, and of Leontius, do not exhibit any novelty of type.

FREDERIC W. MADDEN.

(*To be continued.*)

II.

THE COINAGES OF WESTERN EUROPE: FROM THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE TILL THE ACCESSION OF CHARLEMAGNE.

1.—The Barbarian Imitations.

Much careful research has been expended upon one branch of the economic history of Europe in the Middle Ages; upon that branch namely which includes all questions touching the distribution of land. But up to the present time almost no attention has been given to the kindred subject of the currency of Middle Age Europe. Of this neglect the blame must lie chiefly at the door of numismatic study; for a more extensive knowledge of mediæval coinages is a necessary preliminary to a knowledge of mediæval finance. Yet so small is the interest which mediæval numismatics at present excites, that looking through the later volumes of the Chronicle, which may be considered to contain the results of English numismatic research during the last ten years, I find, exclusive of the papers upon English money, but two others which treat of Middle Age numismatics. This neglect is not owing to the unimportance or unattractiveness of the subject itself, but rather, as I imagine, to a too narrow and partial estimate of the value of numismatic science. The Greek and Roman branches of the study have stamped

their character upon others which do in fact require to be dealt with in quite a different fashion. Mediæval coins, not like the classical, specially remarkable for the history which each piece bears upon its face, should be treated rather comparatively than individually; should be interrogated for the information which they have to give concerning the imitation by one country of the coinage of another, the comparison of their weights as telling upon the question of exchange, and upon many other points of a like kind. All these qualities will be overlooked if we care for individual peculiarities, for the acquisition of rarities, and the ambition of an amateur alone. Add to this fault the confinement of view which, though it has been reformed in a great measure, still taints our study of history and taints still more our study of coins. Till within recent years three ordained branches of historical knowledge were recognised as, so to say, "generally necessary" to the formation of a sound scholar, that is to say the history of Greece, the history of Rome, and the history of England. A man might obtain fresh means of grace by *excursus* into the annals of other European countries, especially into those of France; but the study was made as much as possible continuous and separate, and the country was severed as much as possible from connection with its neighbours.

It is unnecessary to point out how much history suffers if treated in this way. How inexplicable and meaningless appear the civilisations of the Greeks and the Romans when taken without reference to their neighbouring nations—the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, the Etruscans—to each other or to the stock from which they sprang; how their deeds of arms lose half their significance unless we know something of the previous history and then existing

power of Persia and of Carthage. The disadvantage of this isolated method of study is even more conspicuous when we come to the history of Europe during the period which immediately follows the dissolution of the Roman Empire. Then we are dealing not so much with countries as with races. The new barbarians who are now making their first appearance upon the stage of history are, as it were, in a nebulous condition, without fixed homes and separate nationalities or centres of social life; and to confine our thoughts within territorial limits determined by long subsequent wars and treaties is nothing less than disastrous. I would therefore fain permit the title of mediæval numismatics only to such a study of coins as should help to illustrate the relationship of different countries of Europe during the Middle Ages; and when such a study has gained a firmer place among us, it will I venture to think be prolific of results touching the economical history of the time.

One of the first rules therefore which we must make is that our study should be synoptical as to territories, and that it should follow the division of epochs, rather than that of countries. And when we have arranged our coins in such a way we shall find that many changes which, so long as we were engaged upon the coinage of one country only, appeared startling and sudden, become natural and explicable enough when we have extended our inquiry throughout Europe. So that in the case of numismatics as of other studies, the effect of a more scientific method will be the substitution of a harmonious and natural development for the arbitrary creation of new types. Pursuing this wider and more European treatment of the subject, we find that as with the history, so with the coinage of the Middle Ages, there are certain epochs

which stand out with strongly marked characteristics and serve as the breaks upon our stage of progress. Such an epoch is made by the introduction of the silver *denarius* by the family of Charles the Great, and the substitution of a currency almost exclusively of silver for the gold coinage which had preceded it. If we desire a precise date for this change we may take the year 781, on which we find a decree of Charles ordering that the new penny (*denarius*) shall be current throughout the Frankish kingdom; albeit the substitution of this new coinage had begun before the accession of Charles. The period between the first issue of coins by the barbarian invaders of the Roman Empire and this date, 781, forms a definite and marked era in the history of European coinage; though it is not the less essentially a period of transition. It is this period which I have chosen as the subject of my inquiries. It corresponds historically with the transition from Roman to Middle Age Europe; to the time, that is, which lies between the accession of Honorius in 395 and the crowning of Charles as Emperor, an event which we know took place at Christmastide of the year 800.

All this time of transition is one of constant conflict and of constant change. The new German blood which has been infused into the languid pulse of the old German civilisation, for a time runs riot there, and only through the slow course of years do we learn to recognise the signs of a new birth in what seem like the pangs of a general dissolution. The characteristics of this phase of history are in many ways reproduced in the coinage of the time. We shall pass through the various stages of a degradation more or less rapid of the Roman money, until we finally pause before the general reconstruction which accompanies the rise of the Karling dynasty. Even in

this period of transition we shall be able to divide our subject into smaller periods. The first is that of a coinage of pure imitation, only distinguishable from the imperial money by the barbarous character of its work. This barbarous imitative currency belongs most particularly to the latter half of the fifth and the first half of the sixth century. The second division comprises the coins of the Vandals of Africa and the Ostrogoths in Italy, both of which emerge from the imitative stage before the end of the fifth century, and have many points of mutual resemblance and of distinction from the coinage of the other barbarian people. The third includes the currency of the Merovingians, of the Visigoths, and of the Lombards. The fourth introduces us to the beginnings of a silver coinage in our own country, and traces the influences which led to the rise of such a coinage under the second Frankish race and the gradual disappearance of gold money from western Europe.

At the death of Theodosius the Great in 395, the sole coinage of Europe was that which issued from the imperial mints. Rome, Siscia, Aquileia, Lyons, Arles, and Treves are the six mints of the Western Empire enumerated in the *Notitia Imperii*;[1] but to these we must add the short-lived mint of Sirmium and the revived mint of Milan.[2] Treves[3] was presently abandoned, and Ravenna and Narbonne came into use. The mint was under a strict regulation, governed by an officer appointed from the central government, and all its internal constitution was settled with the most scrupulous care. Throughout the days of the Roman Empire the moneyers had formed an hereditary class or family — the *familia monetalis* — composed of

[1] Cap. X. ed. Böcking. [2] From the evidence of coins.

[3] The money with the mint-mark of Treves and the name of Arcadius may have been struck in the reign of Theodosius at a time when Arcadius was in command of the German army.

freedmen and slaves; under the lower Empire they were chosen from the class of fiscal serfs, who were not allowed to intermarry save with one another. This was the coinage of the world, and no doubt passed current among people not subject to the Roman dominion, as in the time of Tacitus the Roman silver money had passed current among the Germans.[4] We may, however, fairly conclude that this element of culture spread only a little way beyond the borders of the Empire. As late as the time of Charlemagne we find the Saxons in the heart of Germany almost unacquainted with the uses of a coinage. Even the tribute which they paid to the Frank kings up to the time of Dagobert I. was not discharged in money, but consisted of five hundred head of cattle; and yet, as we shall presently see, one of the first uses to which money was put among the Teuton barbarians was for the payment of taxes and tributes.

If we go to the lower Danube, to the Goths to whom Ulfilas had been preaching not long before this time (*circ.* 340—388), we have every reason to suspect that their wealth, too, was estimated only in their flocks and herds. For we find in Ulfilas' translation of the Bible the words for money always rendered by *faihu* (cattle); from which we may conclude that these Goths were ignorant of the uses of a coinage. With people such as these, outside the penumbra of Roman civilisation, barter was doubtless the only means of exchange. But they were not devoid of laws; and among the most important provisions

[4] What Tacitus tells us concerning the Germans that they preferred silver to gold, and of silver the old consular coins ("serratos bigatosque") as being old and well-known, is confirmed in a remarkable way by the finds east of the Rhine and north of the Danube.—(Mommsen, "Hist. de la mon. rom." Blacas tr., tom. 3.)

in the laws of the Teutonic peoples have been those which regulated the mulcts or fines payable for any offence. So, when such payments had to be recognised officially it was necessary that some object of exchange should be fixed upon as the standard of valuation; and it is obvious that such an official recognition of one particular commodity gives it a distinct character as a standard of value, and so prepares the way for a coinage. In almost all countries we find that cattle has been the first object chosen to represent money; a fact which is sufficiently indicated by the etymology of such words as have come to stand for this general idea—money—or for the name of some particular coin. The English *fee*, like the Latin *pecunia*, originally meant cattle; so did in all probability *sceat*,[5] the old English coin denomination. I have already shown how long this "cattle-money" existed among the continental Saxons; among those of our own country we find it in use until the propagation of Ine's laws (*circ.* 693), in which a regulated sequence of fines is given estimated in the cattle payment, or as it was called "nowt-geld." But as the valuations here recorded were not subjected to subsequent alteration, we may conclude that the nowt-geld soon after Ine's time was disused. In Scotland, on the contrary, these cattle-payments continued into the reign of David I. (1124—1153).[6]

Yet none of these barbarian peoples were ignorant of gold and silver, and in their personal ornaments they possessed a better, because less mutable, substitute for a regular coinage. The ring—the collar or armlet—which

[5] O. G. *scaz* (*schatz*), A.-S. *sceat*, Goth. *skatts*, Scand. *skatt*, "money," are allied to the Irish *scath*, "herd"; Slav. *skotu*, *skotina*, "cattle."

[6] Cochran-Patrick, "Annals of the Coinage of Scotland," Preface, p. cv.

was used both by the Celts and Teutons, was among all their personal possessions the most important and the most prized. It was a mark of nobility among the German races—by some considered the origin of our coronets—and had even about it a quasi-religious character in memory of the "holy beag" (holy ring), the oath upon which was tantamount to the oath upon Thorr's hammer. Just as *feoh* (cattle) has given us the word *fee*, the Saxon *beâg* or *beâh* (Norse *baugr*) has left the same word for a fine in the laws of Ethelberht; while *batz*, the name of a Swiss coin current within recent years, seems to have meant originally a link or pendant of a chain.[7]

All these facts seem to point to the conclusion that the rings had some sort of legally recognised value before the introduction of a coinage among the Teutonic people. But what chiefly serves to convince me of this is the frequent mention of rings in connection with fines, &c., in the Eddic songs,[8] and the honorary name for princes, the "ring breakers" (*i.e.* the magnificent), which we meet with there (baug-brota, Helgakviða Hund., 17, hring-brota id 44). In the English "Traveller's Tale" the bard says, "He gave me a ring (beag) on which were scored six hundred sceats of beaten gold reckoned in skillings";[9]

[7] E. W. Robertson, "Historical Essays."

[8] Volundarskviða, 7, 8, 11. Helgakviða Hiörv. 6, 11. Helgakv. Hundingsbane, 11, 17, 44, 54. I take the allusions designedly from the heroic portion of the Edda, because these songs seem to belong to a later period than those of the mythological section, and also because some of them show clear reminiscences of the fifth century. The use of ring money among the Celts (*e.g.* the Britons, Caes. B.C., v. 12) has often been made the subject of discussion, but scarcely affects the present question.

[9] "Þaer me Gotena cyning — "There me the Goth king
. —
. . . . beâg forgeâf — a collar gave

and this would seem to imply a custom of having the ornaments marked as possessing a given value, a custom which would very likely be kept up after the use of coins had come into vogue. If, too, as would appear from the expressions *hring-brota, baug-brota*, it was customary to divide these payment rings—in much the same way that in later times it was rather the thing for a young gallant to twist off a few links of his chain to discharge a tavern bill—this would account for the expression in skillings reckoned, which we may render etymologically in cuttings of divisions reckoned[10]; so that the skilling or cutting, which was only a money of account when a coinage was introduced, had in former times probably been a recognised division of one of the payment *beagas*. The use of these rings was no doubt the reason why the nations of Germany, of Scandinavia, and of England, when they adopted a coinage which they all got directly or indirectly from Rome, did not altogether borrow with it the Roman weight system, but had already a standard of their own, to which the new money had to adapt itself. The mark or mörk was the distinctive weight among all the Teutonic peoples. With this in Scandinavia went the eyrir (pl. aurar) or öre, eight of which made one mark; both of these names surviving upon coins of the present day. Two gold rings, discovered in Norway in 1860, which were of the weight of three aurar, and belonged probably to a short time before the introduction of a regular coinage into that country, bore on one end of each a stamp of

.	
On þâm siox hund wæs	On which six hundred were
Smætes goldes	Of smithied gold
Gescyred scoatta	Sceats scored
Skilling-rîme.	In skillings reckoned.—L. 179, [sqq.

[10] Icel., *at skilja*, "to cut."

three small circles, betokening doubtless their weight.[11] I have spoken just now of the "holy beag" which equalled in sanctity the holy hammer of Thorr. This ring was the ring Draupnir, one of the possessions of Odhinn, concerning which it is related that it dropped every ninth night eight rings of equal value; in which last number I am disposed to recognise an allusion to the eight aurar which made up the mark, the highest weight among the Norsemen.

With regard to those countries in which there was a currency we find that soon after the accession of Honorius the Western Empire possessed three mints in the south of Gaul, viz.: Arles (Prima Viennensis), Lyons (Prima Lugdunensis), and Narbonne (Prima Narbonensis), the mint of Treves having been pretty well abandoned. This money no doubt passed current over the whole of Gaul, Spain, and Africa, and even beyond the limits of the Imperial domains; but as during the ensuing century the Western Empire continued to decline in position and wealth the coinage of the East began to be much received in the north of Gaul, while the south of Gaul, Africa, and Spain adhered to the money of the West. About the beginning of the fifth century began the irruptions of those various nations of Teutonic[12] race, whose final establishment in

[11] C. J. Schive in "Num. Chron.," 1871. See also Grote, *Münzstudien*, No. vii. 1; Holmboe, *Münzwesen Norwegens* in Z. f. N., vi. 66.

[12] Teutonic and Slavonian, one should perhaps rather say. Dr. Latham ("Germania" *passim*, and "Nationalities of Europe") maintains that the invading hordes of barbarians were chiefly composed of Slavs; but his arguments do not seem to me supported by sufficient evidence. For even where the name of a nation seems to suggest a Slavic origin, the names of such individuals belonging to it as have come down to us are nearly always pure Teuton. Thus *Wend* (Vandal) is, it is true,

different lands which once owned the sway of Rome ushered in the new era of history which we call mediæval. If, as is undoubtedly the case, the essential division between the modern and the classical eras of European history is made by the introduction of Christianity, it is equally true that so far as regards mere external and political considerations the most distinguishing feature of the change is the rise in influence of the Teutonic and the decline of the Roman people, and for the beginning of this change we may best take the commencement of the fifth century.

The shocks which upon all sides were given to the fabric of Roman Empire were sudden and violent. Theodosius the Great died in 395, and following upon that event came the partition of the Empire between his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius. In the same year, 395, occurred the revolt of the Visigoths of Mœsia under Alaric. Abandoning their homes in Mœsia and Dacia they marched into the heart of Greece, took one by one Athens, Corinth, Sparta, Argos, and seemed to be in secure possession of the whole country. But the armies of the

a name which has always been bestowed by the German people on their Slavonic neighbours. But, on the other hand, the names of the Vandal kings have all a Gothic form. The termination *rîk* (or *riks*), for instance, is pure Gothic—*gensarik* = *gans-rik* (*gans* probably meaning a plume, but literally a goose, old H. Germ., *kans* [*anser*]; but Russ., *gus'*; Polish, *gés* without the *n*; see Grimm, "Gesch. der d. Sp.," ed. 1848, vol. i., p. 478); *hilda-rik*, "king of battles," &c. So, too, *mund*, "guard," is Gothic; *gunthamund* (from *gunths*, "fight;" *mund*, "guard"), &c. Now the name of individuals is a better test of nationality than that of nations, because the former is generally bestowed by those most nearly related to the recipient, but the latter often *ab extra*. It would be no more safe to assume a constant signification for *Wend* than for *Wälsch* (Welsh), which with one Teutonic race means the Italians, with another the Britons.

Western Empire under Stilicho came to reinforce those of the East, and Alaric, placed upon the defensive, found himself obliged to retreat to the mountains of Pholoë in Elis; and there his camp was blockaded by the Romans. Through the vigour of their king the Goths succeeded in breaking the lines of Stilicho, and in escaping by the isthmus of Corinth to Epirus; and here Alaric concluded a treaty with the court of Constantinople. The stream, however, was only diverted from the East to fall with greater fury upon the West, which had drawn upon itself the vengeance of the barbarians. In 400 began Alaric's first invasion of Italy, of which we know none of the details save his defeat by Stilicho at the battle of Pollentia, and his second defeat under the walls of Verona. The disgrace and death of Stilicho prepared the way for a more successful attempt on the part of the Goths, and the second invasion of Italy began in 408, and for the first time since the days of Hannibal a foreign army appeared beneath the walls of Rome. Alaric returned without reducing the capital, but the second siege of Rome, the elevation of Attalus, his almost immediate degradation, the third siege and sack of the Imperial city served ostentatiously to show the world how low her power had fallen.

Meantime other portions of the Empire were not more fortunate than Italy. In 405-6 the united hordes of the Suevi, the Vandals, the Alani, and the Burgundians entered Gaul never again to retreat beyond the Rhine, and this event may be considered the downfall of the Roman power beyond the Alps. The Burgundians remained in the eastern portion of Gaul, establishing in about fifteen years their kingdom over the region which in later times formed the dukedom of Burgundy, and over a great part of what is now Switzerland; but the Suevi,

the Vandals, and the Alani passed on into Spain, and for a long time disputed different portions of this country with each other, with the more courageous of the native inhabitants, and with such of the Roman legionaries as still remained. In 411 Alaric died, and his brother-in-law Adolphus or Astolf, abandoning the dream of a Gothic kingdom in Italy, preferred by his marriage with Placidia, the sister of Honorius, to ally himself with the Imperial family and to accept as a gift a kingdom in Aquitania and Narbonensis. But in 415 he was tempted to cross over the Pyrenees into Spain, and was assassinated there; and the Goths, alternately affecting and disowning an allegiance to Honorius, continued for some time (under Wallia) to wage a doubtful war with the other barbarians of the Peninsula, but eventually added the greater part of it to their former kingdom in southern Gaul. Lastly, we must not omit to notice that about the same time that the Burgundians established their kingdom in eastern Gaul, the Franks having passed the Rhine made their first permanent settlements in the north, and established a kingdom there in the country of the Oise, the Meuse, and the Scheldt, whereof the capital was Soissons.

These events follow one another with such rapidity, and extend over so wide an area, that it is almost impossible to bear them at once in mind or to realise the changes which they effected in the map of Europe. Let us therefore pause a moment and at the risk of repetition observe the course which these different barbarian nations had taken by about the middle of the fifth century. Three distinct streams must be noticed. 1. The Visigoths, leaving Illyricum and marching first northward crossed the Julian Alps, entered Italy, thrice besieged, and finally took Rome, and pressed on to the very

south of the Peninsula. But from thence they turned to Gaul, traversed the southern portions of Narbonensis and Aquitania, crossed the Pyrenees and defeated the Suevi, Alani, and Vandals in Spain. For a while they returned to Gaul, but eventually fixed their kingdom in Spain, and in a small portion of Gaul lying north and east of the Pyrenees. 2. The united bands of the Burgundians, Suevi, Alani, and Vandals invaded Italy under the banner of Radagaisus, were totally defeated by Stilicho and for awhile retired to recruit their strength in the fastnesses of the Hercynian forest. Then in the depth of the winter of 405 they crossed the upper Rhine and entered Gaul. Of the four nations the Burgundians alone remained to take possession of their conquests in this country. The other three passed on into Spain. There the Suevi and Alani remained until they were dispersed and almost exterminated by the Visigoths; but in 430 the Vandals, under Genseric, and at the invitation of Count Boniface, crossed the Pillars of Hercules, and drove the Romans out of their seven provinces in northern Africa. These they erected into a Vandal kingdom. 3. The Franks in 420 crossed the lower Rhine, and made sure their footing in the Belgic province. Here under their family of Merovingians or Meerwigs—which some interpret to mean sea-warriors[13]—they established a hereditary monarchy. It was not until 481 under Clovis or Hludwig that the Franks began to make their influence felt far beyond the limits of their distant country. Their doings at this later time belong to the second age of Teutonic invasion, an

[13] *Wig* is in Frankish "a warrior"; *meer-wig*, "sea warrior" (?); *hlud-wig* (Clovis, Ludwig, Lewis), "famous" (cf. Gk. κλυτός), "warrior." The *ch* in Frankish takes the place of the Gothic *h*, as Childeric=*hilda-rik*, "king of battles."—Grimm.

era which is separated by about a century from the first irruption of the barbarians, and which is especially associated with the names of Clovis and Theodoric, the Ostrogoth.

Before we speak of this second era of invasion, let us pause and ask ourselves, what is the condition of things which was likely to arise from the influx into the Roman provinces of nations in such a state of barbarism? To them clearly money, for the uses to which it is now put, has no value; they will be almost incapable of understanding how gold and silver can be made subservient to the gratification of their tastes and appetites. But that human weakness which, next to the appetites themselves, is most inveterate in our nature—vanity—will here come into action. No people are too barbarous or too civilised to be above the passion for display. The precious metals were the one element of Roman luxury which these invaders could seize upon and make their own. They had no need of, and no care for, the real beauties which adorned the life of a rich Roman citizen, his stately villa, his statues, his baths, his gardens; but his more portable wealth they seized upon and cherished as if it held a charm which could convert their rough life into a life capable of the enjoyments which they saw and envied, but could not imitate; for, in fact, to the barbarians the changes and chances of this new time of conquest must have afforded an almost delirious excitement. Imagine the Goths, to whom Ulfilas preached, living a life little different from that which their Aryan ancestors had lived two thousand years before, and then, before a generation had passed away, transplanted into the midst of the ancient civilisation of Italy or southern Gaul. The effect of this sudden awakening

re-awoke the ballad poetry of the Teutonic people; and this ballad poetry is more than that of any other nation profoundly tinctured with an intense greed of gold. The whole plot of the great German epic, the "Nibelungen-not," turns upon the possession of a mighty treasure, whose acquisition is invested with the character of an almost religious duty, calling for the most heroic sacrifices. So, too, in our own poem of "Beowulf" a heroic life is thought to have reached its consummation in a like exploit, and Beowulf dies happy when Wiglaf shows the wealth his prowess has gained "for his people."[14] It is important to bear this in mind, in order to understand the modifications which the coinages underwent at this period. It shows us how the inroads of the barbarians tended in a double way to—as we should now say—lock up capital. Of course any time of war and disturbance has this tendency; but this time had it in a peculiar degree, because it threw the wealth into the hands of those who had nothing else to do with it than to lock it up—that is to say, convert it from the purposes of a currency to the mere material of personal adornment or into a hoard of bullion. Gold was especially valued. Gold took a position very much like that which diamonds take with us; it was the coveted luxury and sign of wealth, the noble metal for the use of the freeborn invaders; silver, the plebeian and slavish one, was left for their subjects—that

[14] Ic ðara frætwa — For this treasure I
Freân ealles ƿanc — Thanks to the Lord for all
Wuldur cyninge — To the King of renown
Wordum secge — Do now express
. —
ƿaes ðe ic môste — That these I might
Mînum leodum — For my people
Ær swylt dæge — Ere my death-day
Swylc gestrŷnan. — Such acquire.—L. 5580, sqq.

is, for the ordinary purposes of a coinage. Thus Godrun says of Sigurd :—

Sva var Sigurðr	So shone Sigurd
Of sonum Gjuka	Above the sons of Giuki
.	
Eða gull glöðrautt	As glowing gold
Of grá silfri.	Above grey silver.

Thus it was that while gold was hoarded and valued, while the greater taxes and tributes—those which were not paid in kind—were likely to be discharged in gold, for the ordinary purposes of exchange, the proper use of money, it was probably less employed than the baser metal.

Up to the time at which we are now arrived—the middle of the fifth century—no coins had been struck in Europe bearing the name of a barbarian ruler. But in northern, southern, and eastern Gaul, in Spain, and also in Africa, a coinage would seem to have been begun among the various nations of the Franks, the Burgundians, the Suevi, the Visigoths, the Vandals. The coins of this transition era can only be determined by their style. Whenever a Roman province is occupied by the barbarians the change is first marked by the appearance of a coinage which imitates the old Roman one. For the jealous care which guarded the secret of the imperial mints would prevent the new-comers from continuing a coinage like the old, even were they disposed to do so. It was inevitable that the nice machinery should be displaced, and the result is an issue of imitative but less skilfully executed coins—generally the work of some local goldsmith. Probably most large collections of later Roman aurei contain a number of these barbarous imitations, which it is not difficult to separate from the imperial issues. The difficulty arises when we try and appropriate them to the various nationalities

to which they belong. For the coin may owe its characteristic to one of two influences: either it may be the work of the old moneyers, acting now with much greater freedom for less critical employers, or it may be the work of some quite new hands, the old imperial mint having altogether collapsed. In the first case the coins, though careless and rude, bear most resemblance to the imperial issue which preceded them; in the second case they are most like those which, at a later time, bear the name and monogram of a barbarian king. The proper attribution of these *nameless* barbarian coins must necessarily be a matter of the greatest difficulty, depending, in fact, chiefly upon our knowledge of the circumstances of their discovery, and it is a task which, I must frankly confess, would be quite beyond my powers. Fortunately a number of distinguished numismatists have employed their talents in solving these difficulties. In France the labours of MM. Charles Lenormant, Petigny, and Duchalais are especially worthy of mention, and in England those of the late Count de Salis. The latter, though unfortunately he left behind him few written memorials of his studies, devoted a very particular attention to this subject. While making use of the researches of the French numismatists he threw upon them the additional light which an experience, familiarised with the examination of large masses of coins, placed at his disposal, thus founding his opinion as much upon the style or the *provenance* of the coins as upon the isolated indications of particular pieces. In the accompanying plate, therefore, Count de Salis's separation of the different classes of imitative coins has been largely followed, sometimes even when I have not been able to ascertain with certainty the data upon which his conclusions were founded.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 1.

No. 1. Suevian. Copied from gold solidus of Valentinian III. (425—455) struck at Ravenna.
No. 2. Suevian. Copied from silver coin of Honorius (395—423) struck at Milan.
No. 3. Suevian. Copied from silver coin of Jovinus (411—413) struck at Treves.
No. 4. Burgundian. Copied from gold solidus of Leo I. (457—474) struck at Ravenna.
No. 5. Burgundian. Copied from silver coin of Valentinian II. (375—392) struck at Treves.
No. 6. Burgundian. Copied from silver coin of Theodosius I. (379—395) struck at Treves.
No. 7. Burgundian. Copied from gold solidus of Anastasius I. (491—518), with monogram of Gondobald (500—516).
No. 8. Burgundian. Small silver coin of Gondobald.
No. 9. Burgundian. Copied from gold solidus of Anastasius I., with monogram of Sigismund (516—523).
No. 10. Burgundian. Copied from gold triens of Justin I. (518—527), with monogram of Sigismund.
No. 11. Burgundian. Copied from gold triens of Justinian I. (527—565), monogram of Gondemar II. (524—534).
No. 12. Merovingian. Copied from gold solidus of Anastasius I.
No. 13. Merovingian. Copied from gold solidus of Anastasius I., with mint-mark S (Soissons).
No. 14. Visigothic. Copied from gold trions of Anastasius I.
No. 15. Visigothic coin of (San) Hermengild (579). [For comparison only.]
No. 16. Vandalic. Copied from gold solidus of Valentinian III. struck at Rome.
No. 17. Vandalic. Copied from gold solidus of Anastasius I. struck at Constantinople.

Of the coins given upon the plate, only Nos. 1—6, 13, 14, 16, 17 belong, strictly speaking, to the class of mere barbarian imitations. A glance will be sufficient to show that differences of fabric distinguish the different classes. At the same time we observe points at which they meet and seem to run into one another. The distinction, for instance, between the coins which have been attributed to the Suevi (1—3) and those which are given to the Burgundians (4—6) is not strongly marked; but still there is a difference, and the comparison of the coins (4—6) and those (7—11) which bear the monograms of Burgundian kings will serve to justify the attribution. Again, No. 13, by its mint-mark (Soissons), and by its likeness to the earlier Meerwig coins, with the names of Frankish sove-

reigns, is undoubtedly Merovingian, wherefore we may safely say that No. 12 is so also. A comparison of the triens No. 14 with the coin of Hermengild (15) shows its close resemblance in style to the later, the *named* Visigothic coinage. Finally, Nos. 16, 17 are attributed, no doubt on account of their *provenance*, to the Vandals of Africa. The examination of these last coins might have been deferred until we came to speak of the Vandal coinage; but for the sake of comparison, and because these pieces belong as much as any others to the class of imitative coins, and were very probably struck earlier than the regular Vandal series, they have been included in the plate.

It is worth noticing that before the time of Justinian the characteristic type of the Gallic money (the Merovingian, Burgundian, or Visigothic) is that which displays upon the reverse the Victory in profile, whereas on the contemporary Italic (Ostrogothic) pieces she is generally facing. This we shall notice when in the next paper we come to speak of the Ostrogothic coinage. The rule is by no means one of universal application, and altogether ceases to be operative after the accession of Justinian I. On the whole the distinction is more noticeable in the smaller gold coins (tremisses) than in the solidi.

The Burgundian coins with the monograms of Gondobald, Sigismund, and Gondemar do not come within the series of purely imitative coins, nor belong to the century with which we are now dealing; but as it was necessary to place some of these pieces upon the plate for the purpose of comparison, it has been thought better to display a representative selection. The insignificance of this Burgundian currency, which never quite rises to the height of what we may call *autonymy*, precludes it from occupying a

place as a distinct class alongside the money of the Ostrogoths, the Vandals, the later Visigoths, the Lombards, and the Franks; and as we are going to treat of these last three classes together, we shall have subjects more than enough for a representative plate.

It will be seen that most of the coins here given belong to the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century. When we get farther back the task of dividing the coins under the different barbarian nations becomes much more difficult. Sometimes a find may serve to shed light upon the question. It would appear, for instance, judging from the find of coins in the tomb of Childeric I., the father of Clovis—that is, the king of the Franks in days when they were still settled in the country of the Oise, the Maas, and the Scheldt—that the imitative coinage of North Gaul "was taken from the coinage of Constantinople; whereas that of Southern Gaul, Spain, and Africa copied the types of Arles, Milan, Rome, and Ravenna. This continues till the fall of the Western Empire. Under Zeno the coinage of continental Europe and Africa becomes exclusively Byzantine." (De Salis.) Another conclusion at which we arrive, after an extensive examination of barbarian imitative coins, is that they were as a rule struck in gold, and that silver coins, such as Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8 on the plate, are quite exceptional. These coins, in fact, belong to the beginning of the fifth century, and probably to the district near or beyond the Rhine. All the imitative silver except No. 2 are taken from coins of Treves; No. 3 is especially worthy of notice as being copied from the rare silver coins of Jovinus, a pretender who, with the support of the Suevi and the Burgundians, usurped the purple between 411 and 413, but was eventually defeated by Astolf, the Visigothic king. As, then, these silver coins belong to

the neighbourhood of the Rhine and to the early part of the fifth century, and as when we come to the later coinages of continental Europe, we find that the gold coinage generally stands to the silver in the ratio of not less than ten to one, we are justified in believing that the barbarians—those of Southern Gaul and Spain at all events—so soon as they had got into the heart of the Roman territories almost abandoned the use of silver money.

As for the gold imitative coinage there was every reason why it should last a considerable time. For the coinage of Rome—the gold at any rate—had been so long the sole coinage of the world, that it must have been only by very slow degrees that people began to conceive the possibility of an issue bearing any other image and superscription than that of Cæsar. Procopius[15] gives us very precise information upon this point. He tells us how in 544 the Frankish kings began to strike gold coins "bearing their own portrait, not that of the Emperor as was [heretofore] the [universal] custom. The king of the Persians indeed used to strike silver money of his own, but it was not lawful either for him or for any other barbarian king to make his gold coin with a portrait of the ruler. For, in fact, this money could not have obtained currency even amongst the barbarians themselves."

Though the preponderance of the gold coins among the merely imitative series is sufficiently accounted for by this fact, we have still remaining the circumstance that the barbarians did not, as a rule, either make *imitative* silver money or issue it with their own name or monogram; and that even in coinage of a later date when the barbarian nations had instituted a gold coinage of their

[15] "Bell. Goth.," iii. 33.

own, silver was minted not at all,[16] or only in very small quantities. This is the case as we shall see hereafter in the coinage of the Merovingians, the Visigoths of Spain, and the Lombards. It is accounted for by what I have said above touching the general relationship in which these German invaders stood towards their coinage. They did not want silver money, nor did they want gold as a medium of exchange, but solely for the purpose of hoarding it as treasure or of converting it into objects of adornment. The Teutonic invasions were not, as we are apt to imagine them, definite conquests and appropriations of countries, so much as the settling of colonists in new territories; and their effect was less felt in the change of institutions than in the slow undermining of society, the gradual pauperising of the old inhabitants, the sapping of all industries, and reversing of all the conditions favourable to trade. Thus, while industry and commerce in the overrun districts underwent a steady and rapid decline, the supply of money would have been much in excess of the demand but for that strong passion of the barbarians for the possession of gold. The greater part of the gold coinage thrown out of the ordinary use of a currency came in for the purpose of satisfying the greed of the conquerors; what was left, the silver and copper, was sufficient for the ordinary uses of exchange; and as the gold was wanted, not as money, but as bullion, we need not be surprised at what we find was the case, that when a fresh race of moneyers had sprung up under the new

[16] Heiss ("Monnaies des Wisigoths") doubts whether these people *ever* struck either in silver or copper. "Enfin dans les douze années que nous sommes restés en Espagne, malgré tous nos recherches, il nous a été impossible de rencontrer une seule pièce d'argent ou de cuivre qui pût être attribuée aux Wisigoths" (p. 25).

conquerors, their skill was very largely called into requisition, and yet almost exclusively upon the more precious metal. What seems actually to have been the case was this. Gold was coined at a great number of local centres, and when struck was used almost solely for the purpose of paying taxes and tributes. When a certain quantity was collected the whole was converted into bullion[17] and conveyed to the treasury of the suzerain, who only slowly and gradually dispersed it again, using up some for personal adornment, and giving some away to his nobles, his *leudes*, or his *comites*, as the case might be. When any man wished to make purchases there was always a local moneyer who would reconvert the bullion into coins for the remuneration, say, of one solidus out of every twenty-two—so it was settled in later times by Pepin.[18] Thus the whole of the epoch of whose coinage I am writing—the transition period of history from the breaking up of the Western Empire to the rise of the new Holy Roman Empire under Charles—is in one sense a golden age; unfortunately in this sense only. The very exclusiveness of the gold issue is a symbol of the barbarism into which the different countries had fallen. C. F. KEARY.

[17] In the life of St. Eloi we are told how, when the king's fiscal wished to pay into the royal treasury the taxes of some land which had been granted to the saint, he was proceeding ("ut consuetudo erat") to convert the taxes into bullion, but was prevented by a miracle which, for three or four days, stopped the gold from melting. At the end of this time a messenger arrived from St. Eloi claiming the property.—("Vita St. Elig.," c. xv.) The custom of converting taxes into bullion before they were paid into the treasury seems to have been first adopted under the Empire (*temp.* Valens and Valentinian).—See "Cod. Theod.," Bk. xii. t. 6.

[18] XXVIIIth Canon. "De moneta constituimus similiter ut amplius non habeat in libra pensante nisi xxij solidos, et de ipsis xxij solidis monetarius habeat solidum unum, et illos alios denarios domino cujus sunt reddat."

III.

NOTES TOWARDS A METALLIC HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

No. II.

The following medals belong to the fourth group into which this subject has been already divided;[1] viz., Medals of Illustrious Scottish Persons.

It is somewhat surprising that there should be so few early personal medals belonging to this series. We have already seen[2] that in the year 1477 James III. presented a piece to the shrine of St. John the Baptist at Amiens, which was the work of some unknown artist at the mint of Berwick, at that time a possession of Scotland. This piece was perhaps a pattern for a new coinage never put into circulation, but the fact that it was presented to the shrine shows that it was regarded more as a medal than as a coin. That it was the work of a native artist may be inferred from the mint recorded on it. Yet no other Scottish medal is known of this period. The first one which I can notice does not occur till almost at the close of the fifteenth century. The subject of it, Archbishop

[1] See "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1877, Part I., p. 57.
[2] Ib., p. 58.

Schevez, was noted in his time as a great patron of art and an assiduous collector of MSS. and books.

No. 1.—Medal of Archbishop Schevez.

This remarkable medal bears the date 1491. It is supposed by Mr. Albert Way to be of Flemish workmanship.[3]

Obv.—The bust of the Archbishop to the left, wearing the berretta. Legend, within two circles,

WILHLELMVS + SCHEVE3 S̃CI + ANDREE + ARCHIEPS.

Rev.—The staff of the Archbishop, surmounted by his arms. First and fourth, three cat-a-mountains in pale passant; second and third, a cross voided in the centre; therein a mullet of six points; a cross crosslet fitchy on the upper limb of the cross. Legend, within two circles,

✠ LEGATVS ✱ NATVS ✱ & ✱ TOTIVS REGNI ✱ SCOTIE ✱ PRIMAS ✱ 1491

Metal, Æ. Æ. *Size*, $8\frac{7}{10}$ in. = 80m.

Artist, unknown. Pl. IV. No. 1.

This medal was probably struck on the occasion of the quarrel between the Archbishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow as to the primacy.[4] An original of it was in the collection of the late Dr. Wellesley, of Oxford, in bronze; and another, in silver, was at one time in the cabinet of M. Sauvageot, of Paris.

No. 2.—Medal of Doubtful Appropriation.

The following medal has generally been appropriated to

[3] "Catalogue of the Museum of Arch. Inst. at Edin.," 1856, p. 221.

[4] J. Robertson's "Statuta Ec. Scot.," vol. i. p. cxix., *note*.

Mary Stuart.[5] This attribution was first doubted by Mr. Way, and apparently with good reason. I should be glad to be favoured with the opinions of the members of this society who have given any attention to the portraits and costume of the period with regard to its appropriation. It has been suggested that it may be a medal of Lady Margaret Douglas; and any observations either favouring or opposing this view would be of great value to those interested in this subject.

Obv.—Bust to the waist, wearing a cross suspended from a rosary: the right hand across the body clasping a book. Legend, within double circle,

✠ O · GOD · GRANT · PATIENCE · IN · THAT · I · SVFFER · VRANG ·

Rev.—

· QVHO ·
CAN · COMPARE
VITH · ME · IN · GREIF
I · DIE · AND · DAR ·
NOCHT · SEIK
RELIEF

Leg.— ·⁝· HOVRT · NOT · THE · ♡ QVHOIS · JOY · THOV · ART ·⁝·

Two hands clasped between the pellet ornaments.

Metal, Æ. *Size*, $1\frac{3}{8}\frac{1}{4}$ in. = $50\frac{3}{4}$ m.

Artist, unknown. Pl. IV. No. 2.

This medal, as all those of this period, is cast and generally tooled. No struck specimen is known.

No. 3.—Medal of George, fifth Lord Seton, and his Wife, Isabella Hamilton.

This very fine and rare medal is in the collection of the

[5] "Catalogue of Museum of Arch. Inst. Edin.," 1856, p. 183.

British Museum, and also in the Hunterian Cabinet at Glasgow.

Obv.—The initials "G. S." (for George Seton) and "I. H." (for Isabella Hamilton) in monogram, with a floriated ornament above and beneath. Legend,

+ · NEMO · POTEST · DVOBVS · DOMINIS · SERVIRE ·

Rev.—A thistle head between three crescents, forming a trefoil. Legend,

+ VN · DIOV · VNE · FOY · VN · ROI · VNE · LOY · 1562

Metal, *N.* *R.*

Size, (*N.*)=1$\frac{1}{16}$ in. = 34m. (*N.* *R.*)=1$\frac{1}{8}$ in. = 31m.

Pl. IV. No. 8.

The silver specimen in the Hunter Cabinet is of the smaller size. It is not known who was the artist of this medal, which has not been hitherto published. The only record of it which is known, was brought under my notice by Dr. Hill Burton, and is in the Record of the Privy Council of Scotland, lately published.

"Apud Edinburgh sexto Januarii, anno., &c., lxij°.—In presence of the Lords of Secrete Counsale, comperit Michaell Gilbert, burges of Edinburch, and producit ane pile and ane tursall maid for cunyeing of certane pecis of gold and silvir the pile havand sunkin thairin foure lettris, viz. G S I H, linkand within utheris, and the circumscription thairof berand nemo potest duobus dominis servire: the tursell havand thre crescentis with ane thirsell closit within the samin, written about un dieu un loy une foy un roy une loy togidder with twa punscheownis, the ane berand the saidis letteris of G S I H linkit as said is, and the uther berand crescentis and thirsell inclosit as said is—with the quhilkis pile, tursell and

punscheownis he cunyeit certain pecis of gold and silvir quhilkis being swa producit wer in presence of the saidis Lordis deliverit to Andro Henderson, wardane of the Cunyehous to be kepit be him, unusit or prentit with in tyme cuming."[6]

This Michaell Gilbert was of good family, and goldsmith to Queen Mary, but whether he was a medallic artist or only struck from dies, made probably in France, has not yet been ascertained.

The subject of the medal was the "loyal and magnanimous" Lord Seton, the devoted adherent of Queen Mary; and his wife was the daughter of Sir William Hamilton of Sanquhar.[7]

No. 4.—Medal of John, Earl of Traquair.

This medal was probably struck in 1635, when Lord Traquair was appointed Lord Treasurer.

Obv.—The arms of Lord Traquair in a shield, crowned. Legend,

IOH · STVARTVS · COM · TRAQVARII · MAG · SCOT · THESAR.

Rev.—A balance within a triangle. Legend,

HAS · RECTO · METAS · POSVIT · DEVS.: followed by a small thistle and B, the privy mark of the artist, Nicolas Briot.

Metal, Æ. *Size*, $1\frac{1}{16}$ in. = 29m.

Artist, Nicolas Briot.

The subject of this medal was the eldest son of John Stewart, younger, of Traquair.[8] He succeeded his grand-

[6] "Rec. of Priv. Coun.," vol. i. p. 227, xxx.
[7] Crawfurd's "Officers of State," p. 155.
[8] Ib., p. 406.

father in 1606, and was created Lord Stewart of Traquair in 1628. He became Treasurer Depute in 1630, and was created Earl of Traquair in 1633. In 1635 he became Lord Treasurer, which office he held till 1641, when he was deprived of it. After the defeat of the Royalist party he lived in retirement till 1647, when he raised a regiment of horse for the king's service. He was taken prisoner at Preston, but afterwards released by Cromwell, and died, it is said in great want, in September, 1659.

No. 5.—Medal of John Earl of Loudoun.

We now come to three very interesting Scottish medals. The first of them is John, Earl of Loudoun. This medal was the work of Abraham Simon in the year 1645.[9]

Obv.—His head to the left, with skull cap. A broad collar falls over the shoulder which is shown. The initials "A. S." below the shoulder.

Rev.—

· IOHAN :
COM : LOVDOVN ·
SVMMVS · SCOTLÆ ·
CANCELLARIVS
· 1645 ·

Metal, *N. R.* *Size*, $1\frac{4}{10}$ in. = 36m.

Artist, A. Simon.

The Earl of Loudoun was born in 1598, and was the eldest son of Sir James Campbell of Lawers.[10] He married Margaret, eldest daughter of George, Master of Loudoun; and was created Earl of Loudoun in 1633. He was nominated one of the Commissioners for Scotland at the Treaty of Uxbridge in 1645. The Earl of Loudoun

[9] "Med. Hist.," pl. xxiv. 10. Vertue's "Works of Simon," pl. xv. p. 25.

[10] Crawfurd's "Officers of State," p. 196.

presided over the Parliament which proclaimed Charles II. king, and afterwards assisted his cause by all means in his power. He lived to see the Restoration, and died at Edinburgh in 1663.

No. 6.—Medal of Charles Seton, second Earl of Dunfermline.

Obv.—His bust, bareheaded, to the right, as No. 5.

Rev.—

CAR :
SETONIVS ·
FEL:MELINO :
DVNI · CON :
1646.

Metal, Æ. *Size*, 1⅜ in. = 36m.

Artist, A. Simon.[11]

Charles, second Earl of Dunfermline, was the only son of Alexander, first earl, and the grandson of the Lord Seton, whose medal has been already noticed.[12] His mother was Margaret, the daughter of John, Lord Seton. He was one of the Committee of Parliament in 1640; and also one of the Committee of Estates from 1644 to 1646. He returned to his allegiance, and after the restoration was appointed by Charles II. Lord Privy Seal in 1671, and died in 1674. This medal is engraved in Vertue's "Works of Simon," from an original then in the possession of M. Johnson, Esquire.[13]

No. 7.—Medal of Sir Charles Erskine, of Alva.

This remarkable and very rare medal has not hitherto been published, so far as I am aware. The only example

[11] Pink, "Med. Hist.," pl. xxiv. 9.
[12] Crawfurd's "Officers of State," p. 157.
[13] "Simon's Works," p. 82, pl. xx.

which is known was in the collection of Mr. W. D. Hamilton, from which a cast was presented to the late Duke of Sutherland. I am indebted to Mr. Mackenzie of Dornoch for bringing this example under my notice, and to His Grace the Duke of Sutherland for permitting an illustration to be taken from it for the proposed catalogue of medals connected with Scotland.

Obv.—His bust, bareheaded, to the left, as No. 5.

Rev.—

1647
CAR:
ÆRESKINVS
EQV:
ÆT: 30.

Metal, Æ. *Size*, $1\frac{2}{5}$ in.

Artist, A. Simon.

Pl. IV. No. 4.

Sir Charles Erskine was the third son of John Earl of Mar and Mary, daughter of the Duke of Lennox; and was one of the Commissioners at the Treaty of Uxbridge in 1645.

R. W. Cochran-Patrick.

NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

The *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Bd. V. Heft I., contains Dr. Friedlaender's annual report on the acquisitions of the Berlin coin-cabinet during the year 1876; from which we learn that, in addition to the Guthrie collection of more than fifteen thousand Oriental coins, about three hundred Greek and Roman and about six hundred mediæval and modern coins have been added to the collection.

Among the former we notice a new silver stater of Abdera, the reverse of which shows Herakles seated upon a rock in an attitude of repose. This coin is of the class which follow the Aeginetic standard. It is of the best period of art previous to B.C. 400.

The tetradrachm (or rather stater) of Uranopolis in the neighbourhood of Mount Athos is a very remarkable coin. On the obverse are the sun, crescent moon, and five stars, and on the reverse the goddess Urania seated upon a globe.

Alexarchus, the brother of Cassander, who founded this city, is said to have invented a new dialect, and to have made use of it even in his official communications with other states. Athenaeus (III. 98) quotes one of his letters written in this strange jargon, which bears somewhat the same relation to Greek as the language of the Jabberwok ballad in "Alice in Wonderland" does to English. He appears to have been somewhat eccentric, to say the least of it; and this eccentricity seems to be reflected even in the types and legends of his coins —ΟΥΡΑΝΙΔΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ for ΟΥΡΑΝΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ is unique in Greek numismatics. The weight also of the stater (209 grs.) is peculiar, and seems to indicate an attempt to restore the ancient Macedonian standard, none but coins of Attic weight being usual at the time when these coins must have been struck.

We see also from Dr. Friedlaender's report that the Berlin Museum has now a complete series of Athenian gold money, consisting of the *stater*, *half*, *fourth*, *sixth*, and *twelfth*. The British Museum of this series possesses only staters. Berlin may also boast of the gold stater of Athens, with the name of Mithradates the Sixth—a coin of extreme rarity.

For an account of the other important acquisitions in the

Greek, Roman, and Modern series we refer our readers to Dr. Friedlaender's paper, which will well repay a careful perusal.

In the same number of the *Zeitschrift* will be found an important article by Herr M. Bahrfeldt on the oldest Roman denarii, in which he proposes certain modifications in the chronological arrangement of Mommsen. This article should be mastered by all who take a serious interest in the history of the Roman mint, as also should the paper which follows it, by A. Klugmann, on the types of the earliest Roman *bigati*.

Dr. von Sallet contributes another of his interesting papers on remarkable Greek coins, and a second article on the silver coins of Barcochab, in which he endeavours to prove that the Jewish silver coins of the size of the denarius, usually divided into two classes and attributed to the two revolts of the Jews respectively under Nero and Hadrian, all really belong to the second revolt, and are unmistakably of the time of Barcochab. Thus he vindicates De Saulcy's opinion on this question.

Dr. Friedlaender also has a paper on a coin with Massaliote types and an Etruscan legend.

In Bd. V. Heft 2, Dr. Imhoof-Blumer treats of the coins of Selge and Aspendus, and, in a second paper, on re-struck Greek coins. Too much importance can hardly be attached to monuments of this nature, as they frequently afford a clue to a correct attribution: for example, Dr. Imhoof (p. 147) notices that certain bronze coins usually given to the Paeonian King Patraus, on account of the monogram which they bear, composed of the letters ΠΑΤΡ, must be brought down nearly a whole century, because he has found a specimen re-struck upon a coin of the Macedonian King Demetrius or Antigonus.

Dr. E. Merzbacher continues his researches in the field of Hebrew numismatics, and contributes to the present number a paper on the age of the Jewish shekels, in which, after a full consideration of the question, he comes to the final conclusion that they were struck under the authority of the first Maccabæan Princes shortly after the commencement of the Jewish autonomy, the right of coining having been granted by Antiochus VII. to Simon Maccabæus. This article will perhaps settle the much-contested point as to the date of this interesting series of coins.

Dr. von Sallet has an article on the coins of Aenus, in Thrace, which will be read with interest by all who possess specimens of the noble coins of that city. The newly published catalogue of the coins of Thrace in the British Museum, may be consulted by those who have not the coins at hand.

Dr. Friedlaender, in an article entitled, "The Schubin Find again," calls attention to the fact that nothing better than

utterly untrustworthy hearsay evidence has ever been adduced in favour of the alleged discovery at Schubin, in the province of Posen, in the year 1824, of a hoard of extremely archaic Athenian [Eubœan ?] coins, published by Levezow in the "Transactions" of the Berlin Academy for 1834, and that there are good reasons for supposing them to have been brought from Macedon, where coins of this description are often found, by dealers who frequented the fair at Frankfürt on the Oder in 1824. Thus fall to the ground all the hypotheses as to the ancient commercial intercourse between the shores of the Aegaean and the amber coasts, in so far, at least, as they are built upon a foundation as unstable as is the evidence of the finding of these coins in Posen.

The *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Bd. VIII. 2tes. semester, contains the following articles: xi.—xiv. By Dr. Otto Blau, on coins of Azbaal, King of Byblos; of the Satrap Orontas; of Barsine, wife of Alexander the Great; and of the Scythian king Pharzoios. xv. By A. Markl, on the manner in which the dies of the coins of the later Roman Emperors were prepared. xvi. By A. Luschin Ebengreuth, on the "Vienna Pennies." xvii. By Dr. E. Rüppell, on Medals of Physicians and Naturalists. Among the notices of recent publications is a long review of Mr. Lane Poole's Catalogue of Arab Coins, vol. i., by Prof. Karabacek.

Bd. IX. 1tes. semester, opens with a long article by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, on the coinage of Bœotia and the Peloponnesian Argos, accompanied by several woodcuts and two well-executed autotype plates. Dr. Otto Blau contributes a highly interesting paper on the Elymaean Pyraethi or Magi and their coins, and another on the Princes of Sophene. Roman numismatics are treated of by Herrn Neudeck and Kolb, mediæval and Oriental by Ebengreuth, Karabacek, Rohde, and Busson.

The *Mélanges de Numismatique*, Nos. 1 and 2, 1877, contain the following articles:—

E. Muret. Coins of Lydia (Imperial).

De Saulcy. Coins of the Third Race of the Kings of France.

P. Lambros. Inedited coins of the Grand Masters of Rhodes of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

J. Roman. Coins of Louis I.

P. Lambros. Inedited coin of Damala.

J. Rouyer. Giraut Guette, treasurer of King Philip the Long.

De Saulcy. Inedited coins of Tryphon, struck in the coast-towns of Phœnicia.

De Saulcy. New Jewish coins.

The part concludes with correspondence, bibliography, &c.

Parts 3 and 4, 1877, contain the following articles:—

De Saulcy. Supplementary notes on his "Numismatique de la Terre-Sainte."

E. Muret. Coins of Pamphylia (Imperial).

R. Mowat. On the pretended refusal of the Senate to recognise Otho.

De Vogüé. Coins and seals of the Crusaders.

F. Lenormant. On the monetary leagues and federal coins of Ancient Greece.

P. Lambros. Inedited coins of Chios.

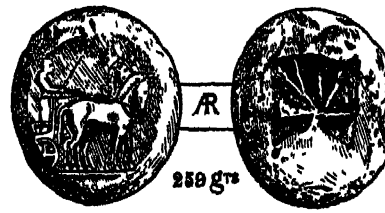
La Monnaie dans l'antiquité, leçons professées dans la chaire d'archéologie près la Bibliothèque Nationale en 1875—77, par F. Lenormant. Vols. I. and II. Paris, 1878 (Lévy).

We do not propose to review this work on the present occasion. Suffice it to say that the two volumes already published, and which we have read with the utmost pleasure, have inspired us with a lively interest in M. Lenormant's really great undertaking, and we shall look forward with impatience to the completion of the work, when we hope to review it in detail. Every student of numismatics should possess a copy.

B. V. H.

IV.

ON AN UNPUBLISHED ARCHAIC TETRADRACHM OF OLYNTHUS.



Colonel J. G. Sandeman has most kindly given me permission to publish in the Numismatic Chronicle a remarkable coin which formed part of the cabinet of the late Mr. G. Finlay, and which he purchased, with the rest of the Finlay collection, about a year ago. It may be described as follows:—

Obv.—Quadriga, right, driven by bearded charioteer, who holds a goad in his right and reins in both hands. The horses are walking slowly in step, so that the quadriga has the appearance of a biga.

Rev.—Incuse square, divided into several (eight or more) triangular compartments, of which three or four are obliterated.

Weight, 259 grs. (16·78 gr.). Size, ·9 inch (23 mill.).

The fine archaic style of the art on the obverse is a proof that the coin is the work of a skilful Greek engraver of an early period. The reverse is of a type very preva-

lent, especially in the islands of the Aegaean, both before and for some years after B.C. 500.[1] The fact that this tetradrachm is of Euboic weight (for we can hardly call Attic a weight probably not derived from Athens, whose commercial influence at this early period was far from extensive), may assist us in attributing it, as it seems to preclude the probability of its being a coin either of one of the islands to which the form of the incuse would perhaps have led us to ascribe it, or of the coast of Asia Minor.[2]

Now this Euboic weight is found in early times, and before its introduction can be safely ascribed to the influence of Athens, at the following places (exclusively of Eubœa and Corinth) :—Acanthus,[3] Terone,[4] Scione,[5] Mende,[6] Potidaea,[7] Olynthus,[8] Dicaea[9] (col. Eretriae), and

[1] The incuse reverses which bear the greatest resemblance to that of our tetradrachm are those of the silver staters of Aeginetic weight with two dolphins in opposite directions, attributed sometimes to Thasos, sometimes to Pheidon of Argos, B.C. 668—661 (?). Colonel Sandeman informs us that he finds in Finlay's MS. catalogue the following extract from a letter to him from M. Postolaka :—"Le superbe tétradrachme archaïque me semble, à cause de l'aire creuse, de fabrique macédonienne, mais de quelle ville je ne puis pas préciser." Although I entirely concur with M. Postolaka's attribution, I know of no Macedonian coins with incuse squares of precisely the same kind.

[2] The only silver coins of Euboic-Attic weight struck in early times in Asia Minor and its coasts are certain ancient coins of Tenedos, the Troad, Samos (?), and Lycia ; but none of these bear any resemblance to this tetradrachm.

[3] Brandis, p. 533. [4] Ibid., p. 540. [5] Ibid., p. 539.
[6] Ibid., p. 537. [7] Ibid., p. 539.

[8] Brandis (p. 538) quotes coins of Olynthus as of the Persic standard; but this is clearly a mistake, which has arisen from a printer's error in the Catalogue of the Northwick Sale, Lot 579, where a coin of Olynthus is said to weigh 83 grs.: the true weight should be 33.

[9] "Num. Chron.," N.S., vol. xiv. p. 273, and vol. xv. p. 98.

Aeneia,[10] all situated in the Chalcidic peninsula, and colonies for the most part from Eubœa (Chalcis and Eretria) and Corinth.[11] At the time of the expedition of Xerxes they were all flourishing places, and their coinage, at this early date, was regulated according to the Euboic standard. Some of them subsequently, when they came under the dominion of Athens, ceased to coin money; and others, such as Acanthus, Torone, Olynthus, and Aeneia, exchanged, probably about the time of Brasidas, the Attic standard for the Græco-Asiatic or Macedonic. The largest silver coin thus fell from a tetradrachm of 260 to a stater of 220 grains.

Following, therefore, the indication afforded by the weight of the coin now under consideration, I would suggest, as its probable place of mintage, one of the above-mentioned Chalcidian towns; and among them I would select Olynthus, for the following reason:—Except in Sicily, agonistic types on coins are of extreme rarity, and at an early period Olynthus is perhaps the only town which places upon its coins the quadriga ("Das K. Münzkabinet," Berlin, 1877, No. 291), or the winning horse standing beside a column (*νίσσα, τέρμα*), (Cadalvène, "Recueil," Pl. I. 30). The reverse type, too, of the Olynthian coins, a flying eagle with a serpent in his claws, occurs also on the coins of Elis, and on both may refer, as a symbol of Olympian Zeus, to victories at Olympia.

[10] Brandis, p. 584. The silver coins with the head of Aeneas are by some numismatists given to a dynast of that name; but as some of them are of archaic and others of more recent style, I have little doubt that they are correctly attributed by Brandis to Aeneia on the Thermaic Gulf.

[11] The only exceptions are Acanthus, which was a colony of Andros, and possibly Scione, which called itself Achæan, and traced its origin to warriors returning from Troy.

It is conceivable, therefore, that an Olympian victory in the chariot-race may have been gained by a citizen of Olynthus before circ. B.C. 500, and we may consequently add this city to, or rather place it at the head of, the list of towns (all, by-the-bye, with the exception of Cyrene, in Sicily and Italy) given by Mr. Poole ("Transac. R.S.L.," N.S., vol. x. pt. iii.), on the coins of which Olympian victories are presumably represented or alluded to.

The fabric of the tetradrachm engraved above is, indeed, very different from that of the tetradrachm of Olynthus with the flying eagle on the reverse. It is much thicker and less spread—but this may be accounted for by its being undoubtedly of an earlier period. A similar change from a lumpy fabric to a flatter one is perceptible, though to a less degree, on coins of Thasos,[12] Lete, and other places in Macedon. The coins of the lumpy fabric I would give to the end of the sixth century, those of the flat fabric to the first half of the fifth.[13]

If the above suggestions as to the place and the time of the issue of Col. Sandeman's tetradrachm be accepted, it is evident that Olynthus must have been a Hellenic city before it fell into the possession of the Bottiæans, who were in garrison there in B.C. 479, when Artabazus, on his return from the Hellespont after the retreat of Xerxes, besieged them and put them to death on the

[12] B. M. Cat. Gr. Coins. Thrace. P. 216.

[13] The coins of the lumpy fabric are frequently, though not always, to be distinguished from those of the flat fabric by a diagonal division of the incuse square upon the reverse; the incuse square upon the latter being generally divided at right angles.

banks of the neighbouring lagoon or marsh, called Bolyca ("Herod.," viii. 127; "Athen.," viii. c. 3), delivering up their city to the Chalcidians, under Critobulus of Terone.

The fine archaic tetradrachm which I now make known is, therefore, in my opinion, a specimen of an Hellenic and probably Chalcidian coinage before this Bottiæan occupation, which can only have been temporary; while the flat and somewhat coarser tetradrachm, with a quadriga on the obverse and the flying eagle on the reverse, probably represents the period about B.C. 479 when the Chalcidians were restored by Artabazus.

BARCLAY V. HEAD.

V.

MACEDONIAN AND GREEK COINS OF THE SELEUCIDAE.

It is a fact which does credit to the political genius of the great Alexander, that the princes who ruled over fragments of his dominions in Asia and Africa after his death by no means lost their nationality, but claimed throughout to be Greeks, and acknowledged a real tie binding them to Hellas and Macedon. To reunite under their own rule the dominions of Alexander was the dream of all Alexander's generals and their children; and in particular Macedonia, the cradle of the race, was the country which the Greek princes of Asia and Africa longed to have under their sway; the master of Macedon being considered, until the Romans made that district into a province of their own, the first potentate in the world—*de jure* if not *de facto* the representative of Hellas to the world.

Thrice did the Seleucid kings of Syria advance pretensions to the Macedonian throne. Seleucus I. himself was the first to do so, and had already landed in Europe to march upon Macedon, when he fell by the dagger of Ptolemy Ceraunus, in 280 B.C. It is likely that some of his coins were struck in or for Macedon, but these cannot be determined or separated, the whole character of his

coinage being, as was natural, purely Macedonian. After his death Antiochus I., his son, maintained the claim to Macedon in opposition to the murderer of his father, Ptolemy Ceraunus, and to his brother-in-law, Antigonus Gonatas, son of Demetrius Poliorcetes. We learn from fragments of the Greek historians, that naval battles were fought between Antigonus and Antiochus. From a statement of Trogus Pompeius, it would appear that most of the land fighting took place in Asia. But that the whole took place there we are in no position to state. On the other hand we find traces, although not of a very decisive character, of the influence and power of Antiochus in Europe. In the year 279 the town of Cassandrea, in the Chalcidic Peninsula, was under the dominion of a tyrant named Apollodorus, among whose acts it is recorded that he expelled from the city Lachares, who had once been tyrant of Athens, on the ground that he was plotting to deliver Cassandrea into the hands of Antiochus.[1] As Cassandrea is on the sea-coast, it is by no means impossible that the object of the contemplated act of treachery was to hand over the city to the fleet of Antiochus, which we know to have been in those waters; but still it is unlikely that the surrender of Cassandrea would have been contemplated by any one unless Antiochus was already in possession of some points on the continent of Europe.

In the following year, when all the states of Greece flew to arms to save their country from a threatened invasion by the Gallic swarms led by Brennus, and sent a confederate army to guard the pass of Thermopylae, Antiochus contributed towards that army a contingent of

[1] Polyaenus, vi. 7.

five hundred men under Telesarchus, a general who much distinguished himself in the defence of the pass. To Pyrrhus also, when he was about to sail for Italy, Antiochus sent a money present. In all these transactions he appears as a European, not as an Asiatic ruler. Further, it is recorded in an extant inscription from Delphi,[2] that the Delphians sent on two occasions an embassy to Antiochus. Boeckh supposes the occasion of these two embassies to be the solemnisation by the king of games, such as Soteria or Daphnaea; but it would appear from the inscription that the Delphians had favours for their city and temple to ask of Antiochus, and were very grateful to one Dicaearchus, of Laodicea, who pleaded their cause with the king. It is hard to see how Antiochus could be of any service to the *town* of Delphi, whatever may be said as to the *temple*, unless he had had power in Europe.

After the defeat of Ptolemy by the Gauls and his death, the war was renewed between the remaining competitors, but finally Antiochus found himself compelled to relinquish the throne of Macedon to Antigonus.

We can scarcely be wrong in supposing that the series of copper pieces represented in the plate Nos. 1 to 7, were issued by Antiochus I. at the time that he was aspiring to the Macedonian throne. That they were actually minted in Macedonia or in Europe we cannot say, but the fabric has a European appearance. The type of the obverse of Nos. 1 to 3, the Macedonian buckler, is very usual in the coinage of Macedon at this period, and adopted by the various competitors for dominion, each of whom placed on the boss of the shield his own badge or monogram. Cities frequently placed

[2] Boeckh, "C. I.," 1693.

their symbol in the same position. The thunderbolt of Nos. 4 and 5 is also a Macedonian type.

The most curious peculiarity of the whole set of these coins and that which connects them all together, is the occurrence of the club, the jawbone of a boar, and the two monograms ΨΕ ΡΓ throughout. The jawbone, in particular, scarcely ever appears on coins except of Aetolia or cities belonging to the Aetolian league. The club is also Aetolian. We should scarcely have hesitated to ascribe all the coins to Aetolian mints but for the testimony of history, which represents the Aetolians as in this war allies not of Antiochus, but of Antigonus. Our historical data, on the other hand, are so slight that it may be doubted whether the Aetolians did not at some time form an alliance with Antiochus, an alliance commemorated by these coins. In any case they are a memorial of Antiochus's pretensions to the rule over Macedon.

These coins I must describe briefly :—

1. *Obv.*—Macedonian shield ; on boss, anchor.
 Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ. Horned elephant, to right. In field ⊙ ΡΓ.
2. Same inscr. and types ; in field ΨΕ, club, jawbone.
3. Same types ; inscription shortened to ΒΑ ΑΝ ; nothing in field.
4. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus, to the right, laur.
 Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ. Thunderbolt ; in field ΨΕ, club, jawbone.
5. Same types ; inscription shortened to ΒΑ ΑΝ ; nothing in field.
6. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo, to the right, laur.
 Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ. Tripod lebes ; in field ΡΓ.
7. Same types ; in field ΨΕ, club, strung bow.

Antiochus Theos, son and successor of Antiochus Soter, was a man given to wine and favourites, who lost by sloth political advantages which his father had won by talent and conduct. He did not, however, entirely abandon his ancestral claims to territory in Europe. Droysen is disposed to think that he fought a campaign in Thrace, and, piecing together a number of scattered fragments of lost historians, produces reasons for thinking that he conducted a siege of Byzantium, which siege he was induced to raise by the fear that the people of Heraclea, in Bithynia, would join the enemy with their triremes.[3] This war Droysen places in the period 262—258 B.C., but its very occurrence is a matter of so little certainty that we need scarcely be particular as to its date.

The reign of Seleucus II., who succeeded Antiochus Theos, was so disturbed by war and revolt that he had small leisure for any thought save of preserving the Asiatic dominions which were fast slipping out of the grasp of the Seleucidae. Under Antiochus III., however, together with a general renovation of the vigour of the Empire, there was a revival of the traditional designs of the race on Greece and Macedonia. Antiochus the Great ascended the throne of Syria in the year 222 B.C. His first efforts were devoted to the putting down of usurpers and the prosecution of designs upon Egypt. But after Philip V. of Macedon had been humbled by the arms of Rome, Antiochus began to meditate conquests in Europe, chiefly with a view to staying the constantly encroaching might of Rome, but partly also with the intention of acquiring predominant power in European Greece, and driving Philip out of Macedon. At this time, B.C. 192, Hannibal

[3] Droysen, "Geschichte der Epigonen," 1877, p. 314, sqq.

was at the court of Antiochus, stimulated by his life-long hatred of the Roman name, urging upon the king measures which, if the latter had been able to take advice, might have saved him from destruction and worked ruin to Rome. While Antiochus was considering the plan of a campaign envoys arrived from the Aetolian league, then at the height of its power. At the head of the legation was Thoas, who offered the king, as Appian writes, the post of general with absolute power (*αὐτοκράτωρ στρατηγός*) of the Aetolian league, and begged him to sail at once for Greece and not await the arrival of reinforcements from further Asia, the forces of the Aetolians and those of Lacedaemon being likely to be strengthened by the accession of Philip of Macedon. Livy makes the speaker Dicaearchus, brother of Thoas, but agrees as to the substance of the speech.

In B.C. 192 Antiochus set sail from the Troad with a comparatively small force of 10,000 infantry, 500 cavalry, and six elephants. He first touched at the island of Imbros, then at Sciathus. It is, perhaps, worthy of remark that the city of Hephaestia, in the island of Lemnos, close to Imbros, issued just at this period copper coins bearing portraits of a diademed king, who may very probably be Antiochus himself.[4] The forces of Antiochus landed at Demetrias, in Thessaly. He himself proceeded to Chalcis, in Euboea, and received the submission of the whole island. The allies who were ready in Greece to welcome him were the following:—Aetolians, Boeotians, Acarnanians, Magnetes, the people of Messenia and Elis, and Amynander, king of the Athamanes, a foolish prince who

[4] "Brit. Mus. Cat. Greek Coins." Thrace, &c., p. 213, No. 6.

cherished hopes of securing for himself the throne of Macedon, and whose accession cost Antiochus dear, as it estranged from his cause Philip of Macedon. The latter prince, after long hesitancy, preferred the more powerful alliance of his conquerors the Romans, and the Achaean league took the same side.

Meantime, in the same winter, B.C. 192—191, Antiochus marched through Boeotia into Thessaly. Passing Cynoscephalae, he found still lying unburied the bodies of the Macedonians who had fallen in the great battle there, and had them honourably interred, a proceeding which tended much to ingratiate him with the people of Macedon, but by no means with their king, to whom by this act he put himself in direct and open rivalry, and who, therefore, embraced with more fervour than before the Roman alliance. The Syrian monarch reduced many cities of Thessaly, among others Pherae, Scotussa, and Crannon, but suffering a repulse before Larissa, fell back to Demetrias, where he put his troops into winter quarters, sending home the Aetolians and Athamanes. Antiochus himself passed the remainder of the winter at Chalcis, in Euboea, and there, in spite of his fifty years, and the serious nature of the contest in which he was engaged, fell in love with and married a beautiful native of the place, the daughter of one Cleoptolemus, whom he named Euboea. The solemnisation of this marriage was attended with splendid shows and games, of which more will be said presently. In the early spring of 191 B.C. the king crossed over to the mainland, and, joining his forces with those of the Aetolians, marched to Thermopylae, but at that memorable spot received so severe a defeat at the hands of the Roman consul Manius Acilius, that he at once abandoned in despair not Greece only, but even his

strong posts in the Thracian Chersonese, and fled to Ephesus with his young bride.

The first coins which I have to bring forward as memorials of the European campaign of Antiochus bear the name of the Aetolians.

Obv.—Head of Antiochus, to the right, wearing oak wreath entwined with diadem.

Rev.—ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ. Warrior standing, to the left, crowned with wreath, having chlamys wrapped round arm, Aetolian causia slung round his neck, and sword round his body; holds in right, spear; right foot on rock.

(Plate V., Nos. 8, 9. Weight, 158·4, 151·6 grains.)

The reasons for the present attribution of these pieces are numerous. The portrait presents a general similarity to that on the Syrian coins of Antiochus III. And in the history of the Aetolian league we do not find another instance in which they elected a general with absolute powers (*αὐτοκράτωρ στρατηγός*); the ordinary generals of the league did not, we know, place their portraits on the coinage; as dictator, Antiochus probably felt himself in a position to make an exception to this rule. More definite reasons will appear on comparison of the following piece of Carystus, in Euboea.

Obv.—Head of Antiochus, to the right, wearing oak-wreath entwined with diadem.

Rev.—ΚΑΡΥΣΤΙΩΝ. Nike, to the left, in biga, holds palm and reins.

(Plate V., No. 12. Weight, 98·5 grains.)

That the portrait on this piece is the same as that on

the above-cited coins of Aetolia would appear probable on first inspection, especially on comparison of No. 10 on plate, which represents a coin preserved at the Hague, and published by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer.[5] And this probability is raised to the rank of a certainty when we observe the remarkable character of the wreath which encircles the king's head on both coins, and is in both cases intertwined with the regal diadema. Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, indeed, maintains that the wreath in question is no wreath, but a "von einem Band umwundene Binde," a twisted taenia, like that worn by Zeus on the coins of Odessus, and Poseidon on the coins of Hiero II., of Syracuse. He can, however, scarcely be right; for in the Museum coin the ends of the diadem are distinct; and both on the Museum coin and that of the Hague we may see leaves of a serrated character.

Wreaths intertwined with the diadema are not of extremely rare occurrence on coins. Two monarchs contemporary with Antiochus III., Attalus I., of Pergamum, and Ptolemy IV., of Egypt, wear upon their coins wreaths respectively of laurel and of ivy so entwined. The border on many tetradrachms of Alexander Bala is formed of a laurel wreath and a diadem intertwined.

If the portrait bearing this peculiar wreath had been found on the coins of Aetolia only, we might possibly have supposed it to represent Attalus I., of Pergamum, who was general of the Aetolians in 209 B.C., but he had nothing, so far as we know, to do with Eubœa. The only instance in history of a close connection between Aetolia and Euboea was when Antiochus III., the general of the Aetolians, passed the winter at Chalcis. It should

[5] "Zeitschrift für Numismatik," 1876, p. 304.

be added that Attalus had a colleague in the office, Antiochus had none.

The details of the types of the coin of Carystus are interesting, and all explicable by the circumstances of Antiochus' residence in Euboea. All the historians state that the great event of his stay was his marriage and a series of games and ceremonies on that occasion. The chariot driven by Victory, which occupies the reverse of our coin, doubtless commemorates the nuptial games, in which the king may have won the chariot race, as he probably would. It is even likely that the oak wreath which is here entwined with the diadem on the head of Antiochus has an agonistic meaning, being in all likelihood the reward of victory in the race. To establish this conjecture I must cite another coin.

Obv.—Head of a queen as Hera, to the right, veiled.

Rev.—ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ ΞΕΝΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ. Demeter in quadriga, holds torch and reins; all in oak wreath.

(Plate V., No. 11. Weight, 254·5 grains.)

The head on this piece is an idealized portrait, and we can scarcely be wrong in supposing it to represent the young bride Euboea, though in the character of Hera, goddess of matrimony, and chief divinity of the island of Euboea. The oak wreath of the reverse is agonistic, and confirms what is above said as to the probable nature of the prize in the games, which doubtless attracted competitors from all parts of the island.

The name of Xenocrates does not occur in history in connection with Chalcis or Antiochus; but it is, perhaps, worthy of remark that we find in Livy's narrative of the war with Antiochus, the name of Xenoclides as that of

one of the principal citizens of Chalcis. Livy's Xenoclides may not impossibly be the Xenocrates of our coin; but, of course, this is merely a guess, a conjecture which is without means of proof.

There are copper coins of Chalcis nearly contemporaneous with these silver pieces, though bearing a different magistrate's name.

Obv.—ΧΑΛΚΙ. Quadriga driven by female figure.
Rev.—ΘΕΟΚΛΗΣ ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ in laurel wreath.

Of these pieces I can give no account, but I would conjecture that they must have been minted on a different occasion, as the magistrate's name is changed, and a laurel wreath takes the place of the oak wreath.

Such are the only coins which seem to bear testimony to the direct rule of Antiochus III. in Greece, but there are many others which testify to his influence and power. Among the latter it is sufficient to mention the well-known tetradrachms of Athens, which bear as well as the name of Antiochus his well-known symbol the elephant. In the copper coinage also of the various cities of Eubœa we find the veiled head of a queen, which seems copied from that on our tetradrachm, and the same type is repeated on copper pieces of the Athamanes, which must almost certainly have been issued during the reign of King Amynander.

To these well-known coins, which show traces of the influence of Antiochus, I have to add one issued by the people of Acarnania, and hitherto, I believe, unpublished.

Obv.—ΑΚΑΡΝΑΝΩΝ. Head of Apollo, to the right, laur.

Rev.—ΘΥΩΝ. Artemis running, to the right, holding torch; in front Seleucid anchor; all in oak wreath.

(Brit. Mus. Weight, 118·3 grains. Plate V., No. 13.)

This remarkable and perhaps unique coin is from the collection of Subhi Pacha. It presents in all respects a deviation from the ordinary coinage of Acarnania. The weight would appear to follow the Attic standard, while the other coins of Acarnania are of heavier weight. The type of the obverse is the head of Apollo in place of that of the Acheloüs; and on the reverse we find Artemis instead of the seated Apollo Actius. The circumstances which testify to Syrian influence are the anchor and the oak wreath of the reverse. Of these the former is specially distinctive; the anchor is at this period used as a symbol almost or quite exclusively by the Seleucidae and their imitators. Of the oak wreath I have spoken above.

Livy tells us[6] that "Mnasilochus, a chief man (princeps) of the Acarnanians, won over by heavy bribes, brought over to the king's side not only the nation, but even Clytus, the general or prætor who was then in power." Clytus and Mnasilochus conspired together to admit the forces of Antiochus into the city of Medeon. As soon as he was inside, the king made a reassuring speech which brought to his cause the support of some peoples of Acarnania. But the people of Thyrrheum shut their gates against him, and, being promptly assured of Roman support, opposed the king until he was compelled to march back across Boeotia to Chalcis. It is clear that at this time the Acarnanian league was divided against itself; the inland cities under the general of the league,

[6] Book 36, c. 11, 12.

Clytus, supporting Antiochus, while Leucas, Thyrrheum, and other cities of the coast held out for Rome. To such a time an exceptional coin such as that which concerns us would naturally be attributed. The party headed by the *Strategus* Clytus would naturally wish to issue money, but as the mint of the league was probably at Leucas, in the hands of the enemy, such money must needs be of an exceptional character. It only remained to give an extra sanction to it by imprinting on it the Seleucid anchor. As to the name Thyon, which occurs on the reverse of our piece, there is nothing to be said; but it should be pointed out that it is extremely unlikely that the magistrate's name occurring on coins like those of the Acarnanian league, is that of the general for the time being. It may, perhaps, be the name of the priest of Apollo Actius, for decrees issued by the Acarnanians in session begin[7] Ἐπὶ ἱεραπόλου τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἀκτίῳ Φιλήμονος, or more probably still it may be the name of some obscure moneyer who was responsible for the weight and fineness of the coin. At any rate, the absence of the names of Clytus and Mnasilochus can form no objection to my attribution of the coin.

PERCY GARDNER.

[7] Boeckh, "C. I.," vol. ii. *ab init.*

VI.

MONNAIES D'HIERAPOLIS EN SYRIE.

"En adsum — cuius numen unicum, multiformi specie, ritu vario, nomine multiugo, totus veneratur orbis."—APUL. MET., xi.

MONSIEUR W. H. WADDINGTON a classé à Abd-Hadad, dynaste d'Hierapolis en Syrie, deux monnaies en argent de la collection de Luynes, sur lesquelles se lit, outre le nom du dynaste, celui de la déesse syrienne Atergatis.[1] Deux autres monnaies, qui font partie de ma collection, viennent enrichir la série monétaire, si restreinte jusqu'ici, de la ville sainte des syriens et fournissent quelques nouveaux détails sur la grande déesse vénérée aux bords de l'Euphrate. C'est ce qui m'engage à publier ces monuments curieux et à y joindre quelques observations au sujet des pièces analogues déjà publiées.

Voici la description de toutes ces monnaies:—

1. Tête à droite d'une déesse, les cheveux retroussés et rattachés par un lion au sommet de la tête, avec pendants d'oreille et double collier très-orné. Derrière 𐤏𐤕𐤕 (עתת ט), dessus Δ?

Rev.—Lion attaquant un taureau courant à gauche. Dessus 𐤀𐤋𐤊𐤎𐤍𐤃𐤓 (אלכסנדר), Alexandre; dessous 𐤃 (ד). Grènetis au pourtour.

[1] "Revue Numism.," 1861, p. 9, Pl. II. 1, 2.

Æ. 5. 8^{25} grammes. Didrachme attique fourré. Collection de Luynes; "Satrap. et Phénic.," p. 97, Pl. XVI. 1; Brandis, "Muenzw. in Vordorasien," p. 430; Blau, "Numism. Zeitschr.," viii. 1876, p. 234.[2]

2. Baal assis à g. sur un siege sans dossier. Devant lui thymiatérion. Il tient de la g. un sceptre, de la dr. des épis? Devant ל (מ) et o?, derrière אלכסנדר, comme sur le didrachme precédent. Grènetis.

Rev.—Déesse vêtue d'une longue robe, plissée au bas; la tête couverte d'un voile, qui lui descend jusqu'à la ceinture et assise sur un lion qui, la gueule béante, est debout à gauche, tient de la g. levée un objet incertain (trois épis ou trois fleurs?[3]). Devant astre, derrière $\frac{\text{ל}}{\text{תחע}}$ (עתח מ). Devant le lion Δ. Grènetis. Pl. VI. No. 2.

Æ. 5. 7^{80} gr. Didrachme fourre. Ma collection.

Autre, 7^{90} gr. Lenormant, Catal. Behr. n. 681, gravé a rebours Pl. II. 1; De Vogue, "Journ. Asiat.," x. 1867, p. 131; "Mélanges d'Archéol. Orient.," p. 47, vignette. Sur cet exemplaire le nom d'Alexandre n'est pas lisible, la déesse paraît tenir une croix ansée et son nom est lu עבת par MM. Lenormant et de Vogüe.

3. Buste drapé de face d'une déesse, les cheveux épars et en désordre, avec un collier de perles. A gauche ס (80) et אלעזיכנ (יכונעתח). Grènetis.

Rev.—Personnage, la tête couverte d'une tiare basse, la main dr. levée, debout à dr. dans un char à deux chevaux conduit par un aurige, qui porte une coiffure identique. Dessus ך[4]ח[4]ל[4]- (יתי..)[4] La ligne de l'exergue est double. Grènetis. ו (?) en contremarque sur la cuisse du cheval.

[2] La leçon ברצי, proposée par M. Blau, ne me semble pas pouvoir être admise, parce qu'elle est en contradiction avec la légende du second didrachme.

[3] De Vogüé, "Mélang.," p. 69.

[4] La légende ne peut guère avoir consisté en plus de cinq lettres.

Æ. 5. 7⁹⁵ gr. Ma collection. C'est à l'amitié de M. Imhoof-Blumer, que je dois cette précieuse monnaie qu'il venait d'acquerir et qu'il à bien voulu me céder. Pl. VI. No. 3.

4. Buste drapé à gauche d'Atergatis, coiffée d'un calathos[5] très-orné, les cheveux nattés tombant sur ses epaules, avec collier de perles. Derrière ⌒O (30), devant ⅄|ר. . . . (עתרעתה). Grènetis.

Rev.—Le bige du didrachme précédent tourné à g. Le personnage dans le char porte la cidaris crénelée et un ample vêtement. Dessus עבדחדד. Grènetis.

א en contremarque sur la cuisse du cheval.

Æ. 5. 8⁰⁰ gr. Collection de Luynes, "Revue Num.," 1850, p. 130, Pl. XI.; Waddington, "Revue Num.," 1861, p. 9, Pl. II. 2; Head, "Coins of Lydia and Persia," p. 44, Pl. III. 10; Brandis, p. 431. Pl. VI. No. 4.

5. Buste de face d'Atergatis, coiffée du calathos orné de créneaux en pierreries,[6] les cheveux nattés tombant sur ses épaules, avec collier de perles. A g. (⌒)O (30), à dr. עתרעתה.

Rev.—Prêtre barbu, vêtu d'une longue robe et coiffé d'un bonnet conique ceint d'un diadème, qui en dépend, se tient debout à g., la main dr. levée, devant un thymiatérion, dans un temple distyle. Derrière lui עבדחדד et ⋃ (ט?)

Æ. 5. 6⁷³ gr. Didrachme fourré. Coll. de Luynes, "Choix de Monn. Grecq.," Pl. XI. 24, "Satrap.," p. 89, Pl. V.; Waddington, "Revue Num.," 1861, p. 9, Pl. II. 1; Brandis, p. 431.

[5] Macrob., "Sat." i. 17, 67.

[6] La remarque de Gesenius dans son lexique, que la signification première de שְׁמָשׁוֹת, créneaux, est rayons solaires, m'induit à penser que les rayons qu'Atergatis portait autour de la tête, d'après Lucien, "Dea Syria," c. 32, *καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀκτῖνας τε φορέει καὶ πύργον*, etc., avaient la forme de créneaux, tels qu'on les voit en effet entourer le haut du calathos sur ce cinquième didrachme.

L'attribution de tous ces didrachmes à Bambyce est, sinon certaine, au moins très-probable. Le culte d'Atergatis était tellement concentré dans cette ville sainte, qu'encore sous les empereurs romains le nom de la déesse syrienne s'y lit sur presque toutes les monnaies. On retrouve aussi sur ces bronzes le type de la déesse assise sur le lion que montre le second didrachme.

Une autre preuve est fournie par le costume d'Abd-Hadad sur le cinquième didrachme. Il est vêtu exactement comme l'étaient les grands-prêtres de Bambyce[7] et puisqu'il n'est pas douteux qu'Abd-Hadad était grand-prêtre d'Atergatis et en outre dynaste d'une ville en Syrie, il serait difficile de trouver une autre ville que Bambyce, où il ait pu être investi de cette double dignité.

Les deux premiers didrachmes sont contemporains. Les légendes sont les mêmes. Les types du droit de l'un et du revers de l'autre ont été copiés d'après ceux des statères ciliciens aux légendes בעלתרז et סם מזרי,[8] frappés du temps des derniers rois de Perse, et puisque le nom d'Alexandre a été reconnu dans l'inscription אלכסנדר par Levy,[9] Brandis[10] et par M. Blau,[11] ces didrachmes appartiennent à l'époque entre 333 et 311, que ce soit Alexandre le Grand ou bien son fils Aegus qui soit désigné par la légende.

Brandis a le premier donné la transcription du nom de la déesse, qu'il lit עתחמ. Cette épigraphe se décompose en עתח, Athé et מ. Athé a été reconnue comme le nom

[7] Lucian., l.c., c. 42.
[8] De Luynes, "Satr.," Pl. IV., V., n. 1—8; Brandis, p. 430.
[9] "Zeitschr. d. D. Morg. Gesellsch.," xviii. p. 102[1].
[10] Brandis, p. 430.
[11] "Num. Zeitschr.," viii., 1876, p. 235.

d'une divinité par M. le Comte M. de Vogüé[12] et par d'autres orientalistes,[13] dans les noms propres זבדעתא = Ζαβδεάθης, עתנתן et עתעקב = Ἀθηάκαβος, fournis par les inscriptions de Palmyre[14] et dans la terminaison du nom d'Atergatis. Athé est mentionnée sous la forme עתי dans le fragment syriaque de Méliton, publié par M. Cureton,[15] comme un personnage mystique de l'Adiabène, que les Syriens adoraient.

ט me semble être l'initiale de טוֹבָה, bonne, bienveillante, épithète qui convient parfaitement à la déesse syrienne que Movers a démontré avoir été vénérée sous le nom de Bona Dea.[16] עתה ט(ובה) est donc Ἀτταγάθη, Atta la bonne.[17] Le ט placé dans le champ du droit devant Baal doit être expliqué de la même manière. Dans beaucoup d'inscriptions palmyréennes,[18] la divinité n'est désignée que par טבא ורחמנא, le bon et le miséricordieux, et si l'inscription n. 3 rend les mots ט(יא)ב ל(מ)לכב(ל ו)לתימי ולעתרעתה (א)לחוא par (Μαλα)χ βήλῳ καὶ Τύχῃ Θαιμεῖος καὶ (Ἀτερ)γάτει πατρῴοις θεοῖς, c'est que les dieux n'étaient bons et bienfaisants que pour le peuple qui leur était consacré.

Une forme grecque du nom d'Athé semble avoir été Γάτις. C'est ce qui paraît ressortir du passage d'Anti-

[12] "Syrie centrale, Inscr. Sémit.," p. 11, 63.

[13] Noeldeke, "Z. d. D. M. G.," xxix. p. 92.

[14] "Inscr. Sémit.," n. 5, 19, 63, 76, 107; 30; 66.

[15] Rénan, Mém. sur Sanchoniathon, "Acad. d. Inscr.," xxiii. 2, p. 322—325.

[16] Movers, "Phœn.," i. p. 307, 600; v. Steph. Byz., s. v. Λαοδίκεια. ἄθας δὲ ὁ θεός . . οὕτως Φίλων.

[17] Hesychius: Ἀτταγάθη, Ἀθὰρα παρὰ τῷ Ξανθῷ. C'est ainsi que je m'explique le changement de Ἀτταράθη, v. Noeldeke, l.c., p. 109, en Ἀτταγάθη.

[18] "Inscr. Sémit," n. 73—118.

pater de Tarse conservée par Athénée.[19] Car si la déesse n'avait pas été nommée Gatis aussi bien qu'Atergatis, la plaisanterie n'aurait eu aucune raison d'être et Antipater n'aurait pu soutenir, même pour se moquer des Syriens, que le nom d'Atergatis ne provenait que d'une erreur.

M. de Vogüé voit dans Athé un dérivé de עת, tempus opportunum, qui désignerait un génie bienfaisant, sorte de Bonus Eventus.[20] Mais le nom de la grande déesse des Syriens doit avoir une signification moins restreinte et d'un ordre plus élevé. Une autre explication, déjà entrevue par Levy,[21] m'a été communiquée par M. M. J. de Goeje. עתה, Atta, est une forme contractée de ענתה, Anata, Antuv, féminin de Anu,[22] le dieu babylonien que Damascius place à la tête de la triade des grands dieux Ἀνὸς, Ἤλλινος et Ἀὸς.[23]

Cette explication me semble en tous points conforme aux données historiques. Lorsque le roi d'Egypte Ramsès II conclut avec Khétasar, le grand chef des

[19] Athen., "Deipn.," viii. 37, p. 346. Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Ταρσεὺς —λέγεσθαι φησι πρὸς τινων, ὅτι Γάτις ἡ τῶν Σύρων βασίλισσα οὕτως ἦν ὀψοφάγος, ὥστε κηρῦξαι ἄτερ Γάτιδος μηδένα ἰχθὺν ἐσθίειν, ὑπ' ἀγνοίας δέ τούς πολλοὺς αὐτὴν μὲν Ἀτεργάτιν ὀνομάζειν, ἰχθύων δὲ ἀπέχεσθαι.

[20] "Inscr. Sémit.," p. 11. Il y a encore une forme masculine עתא et עת, qui est rendue en Grec par Ἔθαος et peut-être par Ἄθας, v. Nooldeke, "Zeitschr. d. D. Morg. Gesellsch.," xxiv. p. 92[1], et Meier, ibid., xxxi. p. 781.

[21] "Phœn. Stud.," iv. p. 7; v. cependant Lenormant, "Cosmog. de Bérose," p. 120.

[22] Schrader, "Zeitschr. d. D. M. Gesell.," xxvii. p. 404; Lenormant, "Etud. d. Syllab. Cunéif.," 1877, p. 18; "Cosmogr. de Bérose," p. 148. Le nom étrusque d'Aphrodité, Turan, serait Tur Anu, fille d'Anu, d'après M. Finzi, "Antich. Assira," p. 505.

[23] Damascius, "De pr. princip.," p. 125; Finzi, p. 467; Lenormant, p. 65.

Khétas, le célèbre traité de paix, les deux principales divinités des Syriens, mentionnées dans le document, sont Set et Antarta.[24] La première moitié de ce nom, Antarta, répond à ענת. En même temps les monuments de la XVIII^me^ dynastie égyptienne donnent les images de Set et d'Anta ou Anata, dont le culte avait été introduit de Syrie en Egypte sous les Ramessides. Sous le nom d'Anata la déesse est figurée, sur ces stèles, assise, vêtue et armée;[25] sous le nom de Qadesch et de Ken elle est de face et debout sur un lion,[26] comme elle est assise sur cet animal au revers du second didrachme.

Enfin sous le règne de Ptoléméc Soter une inscription bilingue de Lapithos en Chypre commence ainsi: עז חים לענת, ce que le texte grec rend par ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΙ ΝΙΚΗΙ, d'où l'on pourrait déduire, que le mot 'Αθάνα était considéré alors comme une inversion de 'Αναθά.[27]

Anta ou Atta est donc bien l'ancien et le principal nom de la déesse syrienne et c'est par l'addition de celui de la grande déesse des Assyriens Istar, qu'a été formé le nom d'Atergatis, qui était le plus connu du temps de Strabon,[28] de Pline,[29] et de Macrobe,[30] et que donne une inscription bilingue de Palmyre.[31] Car M. Noeldeke a constaté,[32]

[24] Chabas, "Voyage d'un Egyptien," p. 338, 343. Antarta (?ענת רות) est rendu en Grec par 'Αθάρα, Hesych. s. v. 'Αταγάθη. Strabo, xvi. 4, 27.

[25] De Vogüé, "Mélang.," p. 45; Lajard, "Culte de Vénus," Pl. XIV. F.

[26] Lajard, l.c., Pl. XIV. F., "Culte du cyprès," Pl. XI., et surtout p. 167—182.

[27] De Vogüé, "Mélang.," p. 36—76; Levy, "Phœn. Stud.," iv., p. 6, 7.

[28] Strabon, xvi. 1, 27; 4, 27.

[29] Plin., "H. N. V.," 23, 19.

[30] Macrob., "Sat." i. 23, 18.

[31] "Inscr. Sémit.," n. 8.

[32] "Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.," xxiv. p. 92.

que עתר est la forme araméenne régulière pour עשתר, qui se trouve dans le nom du dieu Moabite עשתרכמש de la stèle de Dhiban érigée par le roi Mésa de Moab[33] et ce nom עשתר, devenu עשתרת, Astarte, par l'addition de la terminaison féminine,[34] est la transcription exacte de l'assyrien Istar. C'est donc peut-être lorsque les rois d'Assyrie eurent conquis le territoire des Héttites de Syrie et quand Bambyce fut devenu une ville assyrienne, que la déesse syrienne reçut le double nom Istar-Anata ou Atergatis. Ceci pouvait se faire d'autant plus aisément que les rapports entre Istar et Anat étaient si intimes,[35] qu'Istar est nommée directement épouse d'Anu dans un texte traduit par G. Smith.[36] De là vient aussi que les poissons étaient consacrés à Atergatis,[37] car Anu est représenté sur les bas-reliefs assyriens, comme le décrivent Bérose et Helladius, moitié poisson et moitié homme.[38]

[33] K. Schlottmann, "Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.," xxiv. p. 649.

[34] V. cependant Lenormant, l. c., p. 117. Suivant M. Fr. Delitzsch dans G. Smith's "Chaldaeische Genesis," 1876, p. 278—280, le mot Istar n'est pas d'origine Sémitique, mais a été emprunté, comme tant d'autres mots, à l'idiome de la population primitive de la Chaldée.

[35] Gelzer, zur Cultus der Assyrischen Aphrodite, dans Lepsius, "Zeitschr. f. Ægypt. Sprache," xiii., 1875, p. 128—134. Istar est aussi portée sur un lion, Lenormant, l. c., p. 116; Lajard, "Culte de Vénus," Pl. IV. 12.

[36] "Assyrian Discoveries," p. 400.

[37] Athen., "Deipn.," viii. 37, p. 346. *Μνασέας δὲ ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ Ἀσίας φησὶν οὕτως· ἐμοὶ μὲν ἡ Ἀτεργάτις δοκεῖ χαλεπὴ βασίλισσα γεγονέναι καὶ τῶν λαῶν σκληρῶς ἐπεστατηκέναι, ὥστε καὶ ἀπονομίσαι αὐτοῖς ἰχθῦν μὴ ἐσθίειν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀναφέρειν, διὰ τὸ ἀρέσαι αὐτῇ τὸ βρῶμα, καὶ διὰ τόδε νόμιμον ἔτι διαμένειν, ἐπὰν εὔξωνται τῇ θεῷ, ἰχθῦς ἀργυροῦς ἢ χρυσοῦς ἀνατιθέναι· τοὺς δὲ ἱερεῖς πασάν ἡμέραν τῇ θεῷ ἀληθινοὺς ἰχθῦς ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν ὀψοποιησαμένους παρατιθέναι, ἐφθούς τε ὁμοίως καὶ ὀπτούς, οὓς δὴ αὐτοὶ καταναλίσκουσιν οἱ τῆς θεοῦ ἱερεῖς.*

[38] Beros. "Fragm.," i. 3; Helladius ap. Phot. "Bibl.," Cod.

Le Baal, qui siége en s'appuyant sur son sceptre au droit du second didrachme, est bien le dieu que Lucien[39] désigne par le nom de Zeus. Son nom syrien[40] ne nous a pas été transmis par cet écrivain. Cependant Movers, avec sa perspicacité habituelle, a démontré par d'ingénieux rapprochements, qu'un de ses noms doit avoir été Kivan, כיון[41] et le troisième didrachme vient confirmer pleinement cette heureuse hypothèse. Cette fois, en effet, le nom de la déesse est יכונעתה, composé de עתה et de יכון et ce dernier mot Yekun, déjà connu par un passage du livre de Henoch, cité par Movers,[42] n'est qu'une autre forme de כיון. Les deux expressions Yekun et Kivan ou Kévan, en Assyrien Kaivanu,[43] désignent également le dieu de la planète Saturne, le Κρόνος qui mange ses enfants, sur lequel Movers a longuement disserté en rassemblant toutes les notices dispersées dans lesquelles il est question de cette divinité.[44]

279, p. 1593. Ὅτι μυθολογεῖ ἄνδρα τινὰ ὠνομασμένον Ὠὴν— τ' ἄλλα μὲν τῶν μελῶν ἰχθύος ἔχοντα, κεφαλὴν δὲ καὶ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ἀνδρός. Lenormant, "Cosm. de Bérose," p. 59.

[39] Lucian., "D. Syr.," c. 31. καὶ τὸν αὐτοὶ Δία ἐόντα ἑτέρῳ οὐνόματι κλῃΐζουσι.

[40] C'est lui, sans doute, qui est désigné par le Hadran, הדרן, dont la statue à Mabug est mentionnée dans le fragment de Méliton, Renan, l. c., p. 324, 325. Sur un bronze d'Hadrumetum—Mueller, "Num. de l'anc. Afrique," ii. p. 52, n. 29, p. 57; Suppl., p. 42—se voit l'image d'un dieu barbu, tenant des épis et coiffé d'un calathos pareil à celui que porte Atergatis et accosté de l'inscription **HADRVM**, lequel, comme éponyme de la ville, ne peut guère avoir porté d'autre nom que Hadran ou Ἀδρανός, comme le nomme un bronze des Mamertins. Voyez sur Hadranos, Holm, "Geschichte Siciliens," i. p. 94, 377; Movers, i. p. 340.

[41] Movers, i. p. 309, 318, 634, 674.

[42] Ibid., p. 291.

[43] Finzi, l. c., p. 472, 514, 515; Lenormant, l. c., p. 378; Haigh, "Zeitschr. f. Æg. Spr.," xv., 1877, p. 68.

[44] Movers, i. p. 178, 185, 254, 354. On sacrifiait des enfants

Mais s'il n'est que juste de trouver Baal Kévan mentionné sur les monnaies frappées à Bambyce, il est très-curieux de voir Yekun, joint à Atta, ne former qu'un seul nom pour désigner une déesse. Ceci démontre encore une fois qu'Atergatis était une divinité androgyne, comme l'a déjà conclu, après d'autres, M. Gelzer des expressions d'une tablette assyrienne, qui résume les rapports mystiques de la planète Vénus avec les autres astres, selon qu'elle se montre avant le lever ou après le coucher du soleil.[45]

Cette nature androgyne de l'être suprême est exprimée sur quelques monnaies syriennes,[46] conformément aux données de Sanchoniathon et de Bérose,[47] par une tête virile et barbue adossée à une tête de femme et ne formant avec elle qu'une seule tête, double comme celle de Janus. Sur le didrachme qui nous occupe on ne voit que la tête de la déesse, mais elle est de face, ce qui fait qu'on peut la

au Zeus d'Hierapolis, Lucien, c. 58. Il ne me semble pas improbable que la ville d'Iconium fondée, d'après Suidas, s. v. Μέδουσα, par Persée, dérive son nom de יכן. Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἰκόνιον, πόλις Λυκαονίας πρὸς τοῖς ὄροις τοῦ Ταύρου. Φασὶ δ' ὅτι ἦν τις Ἄννακός, ὃς ἔζησεν ὑπὲρ τὰ τριακόντα ἔτη.—γενομένου δὲ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος—ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκέλευσε τῷ Προμηθεῖ καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ εἴδωλα ἀναπλάσαι ἐκ τοῦ πηλοῦ, etc. Cette légende est évidemment empruntée à la cosmogonie Babylonienne, ce qui est conforme à l'influence que les Assyriens doivent avoir exercée en Asie Mineure, où leur domination s'est étendue fort loin, v. Gelzer, "Zeitschr. f. Æg. Spr.," xii. p. 114 s., xiii. p. 14 s. Annacos ou Nannacos, v. Lenormant, l. c., p. 281, est peut-être l'Assyrien Anunnaki ou Anunki—Lenormant, p. 131, 132. Delitzsch, l. c., p. 268; comp. Movers, i. p. 94.

[45] Gelzer, l. c., xiii. p. 128, 134; Delitzsch, l. c., p. 271. Les objections de M. Meier, "Z. d. D. M. G.," xxxi. p. 780 s., me paraissent peu fondées.

[46] "Num. Chron.," N.S., xvii. p. 221, 1—8; p. 227, n. 32.

[47] Philo Bybl., 2, 26, p. 569, éd. Mueller; Beros. i. 4, p. 497, éd. Mueller.

supposer adossée à une tête virile tournée de l'autre côté et par là invisible, qui n'a pu être indiquée que par la légende.

La grande ressemblance de cette tête de face avec celle des statères ciliciens de Pharnabaze et de Datame, peut faire supposer, que sur ces statères est aussi représentée Anaitis, dont le culte, adopté par le roi de Perse Artaxerxes Mnémon, fut établi par lui dans tout son empire.[48]

Les cheveux de la déesse sont en désordre et flottent dans toutes les directions, comme s'ils étaient agités par le vent ou par l'ébranlement d'une course rapide,[49] tandis qu'ils sont arrangés avec soin sur les autres didrachmes.

L'explication de cette particularité a encore été donnée par Movers,[50] lorsqu'il démontre qu'à côté de יכון, symbole de la stabilité permanente de l'univers, est placé בעז, qui dénote le mouvement, le changement continuel de toutes choses, pour exprimer que l'union de ces deux principes opposés, stabilité et mouvement, se trouve accomplie dans l'être suprême et unique, origine et régulateur de toute vie et de tous les mouvements cosmiques et, en même temps, celui qui maintient l'univers à la place qu'il lui a assignée et les corps célestes dans les orbites qu'il leur a tracées. Le nom du dieu suprême en Syrie est Hadad, l'unique, comme traduit Macrobe.[51] C'est Ἄδωδος, le roi

[48] Beros. iii. 16, p. 509, M ; Lenormant, l. c., p. 149 s.

[49] De Luynes, "Recherch. sur la culte d'Hécaté," p. 5.

[50] Movers, i. p. 293.

[51] Macrob., "Sat." i. 23, 17. Deo enim quem summum maximumque venerantur Adad nomen dederunt. Eius nominis interpretatio significat unus unus. Hunc ergo ut potentissimum adorant deum. Philo Bybl. 5, p. 571, M. *υἱὸν ἔχων μονογενῆ, ὃν διὰ τοῦτο Ἰεδοὺδ ἐκάλουν, τοῦ μονογενοῦς οὕτως ἔτι καὶ νῦν καλουμένου παρὰ τοῖς Φοίνιξι.* En effet, suivant M. Fr. De-

des dieux, selon Philon de Byblos;[52] Ἀδαδοὺς, le dieu androgyne phrygien;[53] Ἄδαδος, d'où descendent les rois de Damas.[54] Un cylindre, sur lequel son image est gravée, donne l'orthographe en Syrien הדד.[55] C'est le dieu dont se dit serviteur le עבדהדד des deux derniers didrachmes.

Sur le revers du troisième didrachme est représenté un personnage de haut rang, tout pareil à l'Abd-Hadad de la monnaie suivante, sauf qu'il ne porte pas la cidaris royale et qu'il paraît avoir la tête couverte de la tiare ordinaire des Perses, ce qui ne se laisse pas distinguer nettement. La tiare de l'aurige est plus distincte. Du nom de ce dynaste il ne reste que la désinence יתי, mais comme le seul nom propre, qui se termine par ces trois lettres, est, à ma connaissance du moins, שמיתי, et qu'il y a place dans le champ pour deux lettres environ et même des traces d'une lettre, qui peut fort bien avoir été un מ, il n'est pas hasardé, ce me semble, d'assigner provisoirement au dynaste le nom de שמיתי, Schamyathi, Σαμιάδης.[56]

La date paraît être ϘO (30), la même que celle qui se voit sur les didrachmes suivants. Elle ne peut guère être rapportée qu'à l'ère de la conquête de la Syrie par

litzsch, l. c., p. 278, *idu* signifie *un* en Assyrien, v. Sayce, "Elem. Assyr. Grammar," p. 55; "Z. d. D. M. Ges.," xxvii., p. 696.

[52] Philo Bybl., 2, 24, p. 569, M. Ἄδωδος *βασιλεὺς θεῶν*.

[53] Hesych., Ἀδαδοὺς *θεός τις παρὰ Φρυξὶ καλεῖται ἑρμαφρόδιτος*.

[54] Nicolaus Damasc., fr. 31; Joseph. "Antiq.," vii. 5, 2; ix. 4, 6.

[55] De Vogüé, "Mélang.," p. 121, Pl. VII. 24; Levy, "Siegel und Gemmen," p. 6.

[56] Voyez l'inscription du bas-relief égyptien publié par Gesenius, "Scr. ling. phœn. monn.," t. 29, lxxii. p. 322, 467; Judas, "Etud. Dém.," p. 131, 132; Levy, "Phœn. Wœrterb.," s. v. "Corp. Inscr. Gr.," n. 2534.

Alexandre,[57] puisque le nom du roi de Macédoine se lit sur les deux premiers didrachmes, qui présentent trop d'analogie avec les autres pour leur être de beaucoup postérieurs ou antérieurs en date. Si le règne d'Alexandre a commencé pour la Syrie en 332,[58] l'an 30 tombe en 303. Antigone résidait alors en Syrie et y resta jusqu'à l'année suivante quand, à la nouvelle que Lysimaque avait envahi ses états, il partit à la tête de ses troupes, pour périr à la bataille d'Ipsus en 301.[59] Il faut donc qu'Abd-Hadad, le grand-prêtre et dynaste, qui sur les deux derniers didrachmes s'est fait représenter dans les deux costumes convenants à sa double dignité religieuse et civile, ait été reconnu par Antigone, comme un prince tout à fait indépendant. Sans cela il n'aurait pas osé se faire graver, d'abord avec un long diadème royal dépendant de son haut bonnet conique, puis avec la cidaris crénelée des anciens rois de Perse. Il me semble très-probable qu'Antigone, par crainte de Ptolémée et de Seleucus, qui s'étaient alliés avec Lysimaque, aura accordé ou confirmé de grands privilèges au sanctuaire le plus vénéré en Syrie, afin de retenir la population indigène à sa cause pendant qu'il faisait la guerre au loin, et le grand-prêtre se sera hâté de faire parade de sa souveraineté en ordonnant une émission d'espèces à son effigie. Ceci aura eu lieu à la fin de la trentième année, correspondant au commencement de 302. Dans la première partie de la trentième année, fin de 303, devra être placé le troisième didrachme, qui porte le nom de Schamyathi, prédécesseur

[57] M. Waddington rapporte la date au règne d'Artaxerxe Mnémon, dont la 30me année tombe en 375, "Rev. Num.," 1861, p. 11.

[58] "Num. Chron.," N.S., xvii. p. 183.

[59] Droysen, "Geschichte des Hellenismus," i. p. 522 s.

d'Abd-Hadad dans la charge sacerdotale, car Lucien nous informe, qu'à Hierapolis on avait la coutume d'élire chaque année un autre grand-prêtre, qui revêtait alors la pourpre et ceignait son bonnet pointu d'un diadème d'or.[60]

Sur les premiers didrachmes il n'est pas encore question de ces personnages, qui comme tant d'autres, profitèrent de la dissension des diadoches pour se rendre indépendants. Le roi régnant Alexandre est seul inscrit en toutes lettres et si un autre personnage est indiqué par le Δ grec,[61] qui se voit dans le champ, ce doit être un Grec et bien probablement Démétrius, le fils d'Antigone, qui chargé par son père du commandement de l'armée, aura eu besoin d'argent, en 312, après sa défaite par Ptolémée près de Gaza, pour réparer les pertes qu'il avait essuyées.[62] Qui sait s'il n'a pas accordé quelque privilège au temple de Bambyce contre une forte somme de didrachmes à l'effigie de la déesse? Peut-être aussi n'est-ce qu'à titre d'emprunt, qu'il s'est approprié une partie des trésors consacrés dans le temple.

De leur côté les prêtres de Bambyce semblent avoir pas mal profité du droit de monnayage, qu'ils venaient peut-être d'acquérir, en émettant des pièces fourrées dans le plus grand nombre possible. Sans cela il serait étonnant que des six exemplaires retrouvés jusqu'ici, trois au moins

[60] Lucian., c. 42. *καὶ πῖλον ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἔχουσι. ἀρχιρεὺς δὲ ἄλλος ἑκάστου ἔτεος ἐπιγίγνεται. Πορφυρέην δὲ μοῦνος οὗτος φορέει, καὶ τιάρῃ χρυσέῃ ἀναδέεται.*

[61] Quelques tétradrachmes ciliciens, au lion, portent aussi pour toute inscription, tantôt le monogramme d'Antigone, Æ. 6, Catal. Greppo, n. 1100, Pl. III.; Æ. 5½, 16^{48}=260^{g}, Leake, "As. Gr.," p. 127, tantôt le Δ de Démétrius? Æ. 6, 17^{02}, Cat. Behr., n. 687; Æ. 5, 17^{g}, coll. de l'univers. de Leide; Æ. 5, Cat. Rollin et Feuardent, n. 5922, Cat. Subhi Pacha, 1878, n. 859.

[62] Droysen, l. c., i. p. 374.

soient fourrés et qu'il n'y en ait qu'un dont le poids atteigne 8^{50} grammes. A moins donc que l'hypothèse que je viens de proposer ne soit dénuée de tout fondement, la série monétaire de Bambyce aura commencé sous le règne nominal d'Alexandre Aegus, peu après qu'Antigone se fut rendu maître de la Syrie en 315, pour finir vers 301,[63] quand cette contrée passa à Seleucus Nicator.

Celui-ci n'aurait pu tolérer, à si peu de distance de sa capitale Antioche, un dynaste riche et parfaitement indépendant, qui était en même temps le souverain pontife de la divinité la plus vénérée par la population indigène de ses états. Aussi nous reste-t-il des indices suffisants pour reconnaître la manière dont Seleucus s'y prit pour se soumettre les prêtres de Bambyce. Elien dit qu'il changea le nom de la ville en Hierapolis.[64] Lucien raconte en détail, comment le roi envoya sa femme Stratonicé pour bâtir à ses frais un nouveau temple suivant le modèle grec et comment la reine se fit initier aux actes religieux et prit part aux cérémonies, que célébraient les Syriens en l'honneur de leur déesse.[65] Toutefois cet écrivain n'a pas fait ressortir et il aura eu ses raisons pour ne pas le faire, que ce Combab, dont Stratonicé se passionne, n'est aussi,

[63] Droysen, l. c., i. p. 338 s. Il n'est pas superflu, peut-être, de remarquer, que les tétradrachmes, qu'il est d'usage de classer à Antigone, le roi d'Asie et qui, dans ce cas, auraient été frappés en Syrie entre 306 et 302, me semblent être d'une date plus récente et provenir d'un atelier de Macédoine ou d'Asie Mineure. L'Apollon, assis sur la proue, paraît contemporain de l'Apollon assis sur l'omphalos des tétradrachmes d'Antiochus I. et II. La tête de Poseidon a servi de modèle pour plusieurs monnaies macédoniennes. Aussi je classerais plus volontiers ces tétradrachmes au fils de Démétrius, qu'à son père.

[64] Aelian., "Hist. An.," xii. 2.

[65] Lucian., c. 17—27.

comme Movers l'a reconnu,[66] que le dieu Baal Kévan lui-même, avec lequel la reine contracte une union mystique, qui fait d'elle une nouvelle Atergatis, lui donne tous les droits de la déesse et la rend souveraine à Hierapolis, qui devient depuis lors une ville grecque.[67] C'est de cette façon, si je ne me trompe, que Seleucus a fait rentrer sous sa domination tout un district de la Syrie, qui menaçait de lui échapper et qui plus tard, quand les rois de Syrie eurent perdu leur puissance, devint encore une fois un petit état séparé, régi par Denys, fils d'Héracléon.[68]

Antiochus IV paraît avoir accordé ou confirmé à Hierapolis les droits monétaires. Mionnet enregistre quelques bronzes, frappés sous le règne de ce roi[69] et celui d'Alexandre Bala,[70] qui portent la légende ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ et sur lesquels ne manquent pas le taureau et le lion,[71] symboles des grands dieux syriens, dont les caractères opposés sont exprimés par la lutte de leurs animaux sacrés sur le premier didrachme. Puis, après un long intervalle, viennent les monnaies impériales, qui commençent sous Trajan pour durer jusque sous les

[66] Movers, i. p. 687.

[67] Ainsi que Stratonicé à Héra, Seleucus et son fils Antiochus furent assimilés à Zeus et à Apollon, les autres grands dieux d'Hierapolis. Lucian., c. 35. v. "Corp. Inscr. Graec.," n. 4458. ΙΕΡΕΙΣ—ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. A ces surnoms correspondent les types monétaires de ces rois.

[68] Strabo, xvi. II. 7. *πρὸς ἕω ὁ Εὐφράτης ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Βαμβύκη καὶ ἡ Βέροια καὶ ἡ Ἡράκλεια τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ, πολίχνια τυραννούμενά ποτε ὑπὸ Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἡρακλέωνος. διέχει δ' ἡ Ἡράκλεια σταδίους εἴκοσι τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱεροῦ τῆς Κυρρηστίδος.*

[69] Mion., v. p. 39, n. 340; p. 138, n. 36, 36bis.

[70] Ibid., p. 55, n. 480.

[71] Un lion se voit encore aux pieds d'Apollon sur un tétradrachme de Seleucus II. Duane, "Coins of the Seleuc.," Pl. III. 22; Mion., Suppl. viii. p. 15, n. 87.

Philippe. Ces bronzes n'ont souvent pour type que le nom de la déesse syrienne, entouré d'une couronne. D'autrefois on la voit assise sur le lion ou entre deux lions,[72] accompagnée, comme autrefois, d'une légende explicative, ΘΕΑC CYPIAC ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ.[73] Du temps des empereurs Hadrien et Antonin le pieux, la suite impériale est interrompue deux fois par des monnaies autonomes aux types d'Antioche et aux dates de l'ère des Seleucides 447, 457, 471, 473 (135, 145, 159, 161 après J.-C.),[74] mais les pièces les plus intéressantes sont celles qu'ont publiées Pellerin et Neumann :

ΑΥΤ . ΚΑΙ . ΜΑΡ . ΑΥΡ . CΕ . ΑΛΕ CΕΒ. Buste à dr. d'Alexandre Sévère avec le diadème radié et le paludamentum.

Rev.—ΘΕΟΙ CYPIAC (ΙΕΡΟΠ)ΟΛΙΤΩΝ. Edicule surmonté d'une colombe et dans lequel est placée une aigle légionnaire. A g. Baal-Kévan barbu, vêtu d'une longue tunique, le calathos en tête, un sceptre dans la dr., est assis entre deux taureaux. A dr. Atergatis, vêtue et coiffée de même, dans la dr. sceptre, dans la g. fuseau(?), est assise entre deux lions. A l'exergue lion passant à dr.

Æ. 8. Cab. de Vienne ; Neumann, "Numi. vet. ined.," ii. p. 74—80, tab. iii. 2 ; Eckhel, "D. N. V.," iii. p. 262 ; Mion., v. p. 141, n. 54 ; Lajard, "Culte de Vénus," p. 128, Pl. III. B, n. 1.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΜΑΜΕΑ CΕΒΑC Buste diadémé à dr., avec le croissant.

[72] Macrob., "Sat." i. 23, 20. Sub eodem (Adargatidis) simulacro species leonum sunt. De Vogüé, "Mélang.," p. 68, Vign.

[73] Mion., v. p. 139 s, n. 37—39 ; S. viii. p. 110, n. 34—60.

[74] Eckhel, "D. N. V.," iii. p. 261 s. ; Mion., v. p. 138, n. 33, 35 ; S. viii. p. 109, n. 28—33.

Rev.—ΘΕΑC (CYPIAC ΙΕΡΟΠ)ΟΛΙΤΩΝ. Même revers et même lion à l'exergue.

Æ. 7. Catal. Gréau, n. 2457.

ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. Α. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC CΕΒ. Buste laure de Caracalla à dr., avec le paludamentum.

Rev.—ΔΗΜΑΡΧ . ΕΞ . ΥΠΑΤΟC ΤΟ Δ. Même type. A l'exergue aigle de face, les ailes éployées, la tête tournée à droite.

Æ. 8. . . . Pellerin, "Mélanges," i. p. 189, Pl. VIII. 12. Eckhel, l. c., p. 296, croit ce tétradrachme frappé à Antioche, dont l'atelier serait désigné par l'aigle, qui remplace le lion à l'exergue. Cependant l'aigle pourrait désigner le monnayage impérial en argent par apposition aux espèces municipales en bronze.

Le type du revers est conforme à la description qu'a donnée Lucien[75] des statues en or placées dans le sanctuaire du temple à Hierapolis, sauf l'aigle légionnaire posée devant l'édicule.

Cet édicule en or, dont le faîte est surmonté par une colombe, est bien ce que Lucien nomme *σημήϊον*,[76] סִמְן, et que cet auteur a trouvé si difficile à décrire, que sa description n'est pas devenue suffisamment claire pour les lecteurs de son ouvrage. On l'identifie, dit Lucien, avec Sémiramis et cette déesse, dont la colombe est le symbole,[77]

[75] Lucian., c. 31.

[76] Haigh, "Z. f. Aeg. Spr.," xv. p. 88: "Relying on evidence to the same effect, to be advanced in the sequel, I am convinced that this symbol of divinity, the most sacred thing which the Chaldæans knew, was in the form of a pavilion." Lucian., c. 33: Ἐν *μέσῳ δὲ ἀμφοτέρων ἕστηκε ξόανον ἄλλο χρύσεον, οὐδαμᾷ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ξοάνοισι εἴκελον—καλέεται δὲ σημήϊον καὶ ὑπ' αὐτων Ἀσσυρίων.—οἱδὲ ἐς Σεμίραμιν ἄγουσι. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὧν ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ αὐτοῦ, περιστερὴ χρυσέη ἐφέστηκε.—ἀποδημέει δὲ δὶς ἑκάστου ἔτεος ἐς θάλασσαν, ἐς κομιδὴν τοῦ εἵπεν ὕδατος.* Cp. c. 13. Movers, ii. 3, p. 187.

[77] Lucian., c. 14; Hehn, "Kulturplanzen," p. 241 s.

est la fille de Hadad et d'Atergatis ou Dercéto, exposée par sa mère et élévée par le pasteur Simmas.[78] C'est Simi, la fille de Hadad du fragment de Méliton, chargée de puiser de l'eau à la mer et de la jeter dans le puits de Mabug,[79] ce qui correspond au récit de Lucien et aux rapports d'Atergatis avec l'eau, dont le symbole, les poissons, lui sont spécialement consacrés.[80]

En même temps Pellerin a fait graver trois monnaies en argent, de différent module, tétradrachme, didrachme, et drachme, qui, à ce qu'il dit, sont de même fabrique et ont été frappés vraisemblablement dans la même ville. Il y a lieu de croire qu'elles sont aussi de Hierapolis et que le nom de la ville n'est absent que parce que la fabrication de monnaies en argent était réservée à l'empereur.

1. ΑΥΤΟΚΡ . ΚΑΙC . ΝΕΡ . ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC CΕΒ . ΓΕΡΜ. Tête laurée de Trajan à dr.

Rev.—ΔΗΜΑΡΧ . ΕΞ . ΥΠΑΤ . Β. Buste drapé à dr. d'un dieu barbu, qui, le calathos en tête, tient de la g. un sceptre, de la dr. un objet incertain.

Æ. 7. Pellerin, "Mél.," i. p. 182—184, Pl. VIII. 1; Mion., vi. p. 691, n. 525.

2. Même légende et même tête.

Rev.—Même légende. Buste drapé à g. d'une déesse, coiffée de même manière, tenant de la dr. un sceptre, de la g. un fuseau (?)

Æ. 5. . . . Pellerin, n. 2; Mion., n. 523.

[78] Movers, i. p. 632.

[79] Renan, l. c., p. 824, 825.

[80] Athen., "Deipn.," viii. 37, p. 346: ἡ δὲ γε Ἀτεργάτις, ὥσπερ Ξάνθος λέγει ὁ Λυδός,—*κατεποντίσθη*—ἐν τῇ περὶ Ἀσκάλωνα λίμνῃ.

8. AVTOKP . KAIC . NЄP . TPAIANOC . CЄB . ΓЄPM . ΔAK . Même tête.

Rev.—ΔHMAPX . ЄΞ . YΠATO . Γ. Buste drapé à g. d'une déesse, tenant de la dr. sceptre, de la g. patère.

Æ. 4. . . . Pellerin, n. 8 ; Mion., p. 694, n. 548.

Le buste du dieu barbu est pareil, ainsi que l'a vu Pellerin, à celui du bronze de Hadrumetum, dont il a été question plus haut. Ce doit donc être Hadran, le dieu syrien. La déesse, coiffée du calathos, est trop semblable à celle qui est représentée sur les deux derniers didrachmes de Bambyce, pour ne pas y reconnaître Atergatis et l'autre déesse, coiffée en cheveux, comme Atta sur le premier didrachme représente sans doute la déesse syrienne sous cette autre forme. Ces monnaies de Trajan donnent encore une fois une illustration du passage d'Apulée, où il est dit, que la grande déesse était vénérée sous une foule de formes diverses et de noms variés.[81]

Il est à présumer, qu'il existe encore d'autres monnaies qui ont fait partie de la série monétaire si intéressante de Bambyce. Pour le moment je n'en connais pas, mais il y a quelques pièces, syriennes ou phéniciennes, dont le lieu d'émission peut être cherché dans le nord aussi bien que dans le sud de l'ancienne cinquième satrapie de Darius. Quoique plusieurs d'entr'elles aient été décrites dernièrement, elles sont assez remarquables pour en dire encore quelques mots.

[81] Apul., "Metam.," xi. p. 257. "En adsum—cuius numen unicum, multiformi specie, ritu vario, nomine multiiugo, totus veneratur orbis." V. aussi "Corp. Inscr. Latin.," VII. p. 137, n. 759. "Imminet Leoni Virgo cœlesti situ spicifera, iusti inventrix, urbium conditrix, ex quis muneribus nosse contigit deos. Ergo eadem mater divum, Pax, Virtus, Ceres, dea Syria, lance vitam et iura pensitans."

1. Tête à dr. barbue et coiffée d'une tiare (?) Devant ש.

Rev.—Personnage nu, à dr., combattant un lion dressé devant lui. Dans le champ ש.

Æ. 1. 0^{52} gr. Imhoof-Blumer, "Choix de Mon. Gr.," Pl. VII. 230; "N. Chr.," N.S. xvii., p. 211, n. 7. Pl. VI. No. 7.

La nudité de l'Hercule, qui combat le lion, démontre que cette monnaie date du temps où les Grecs dominaient déjà en Asie. Elle a sans doute été mal classée parmi les monnaies attribuées à Sidon. Le ש, qui s'y lit des deux côtés, la rapproche des deux premiers didrachmes de Bambyce, sur lesquels cette lettre revient aussi par deux fois, après le nom de la déesse et devant le Baal assis. L'attribution de cette jolie monnaie à Bambyce serait cependant hasardée.

2. Lion vu de face, les pattes étendues, servant de support à une tête colossale barbue, vue de face. Grènetis.

Rev.—Tête barbue à g., coiffée d'un calathos crénelé, avec pendants d'oreille et collier de perles. Grènetis.

Æ. 1½. 0^{61}=11½. Mion., v. p. 645, n. 29; "Rois Grecs," p. 187, Pl. LXV., n. 18. Pl. VI. No. 6.

Cette pièce pourrait être rangée avec quelque raison à Bambyce, vu l'analogie de la tête du revers avec celle de Baal sur le bronze de Sévère Alexandre, décrit ci-dessus; mais toute hypothèse à ce sujet serait dénuée de fondement, tant que le type du droit n'aura pas trouvé d'explication satisfaisante.

3. Tête barbue à dr., couverte d'un casque corinthien lauré, avec cimier.

Rev.—Divinité barbue, le bas du corps et le bras dr. enveloppés dans un manteau, assis à dr. sur une

roue ailée. De la g. il tient un épervier. Devant lui grande tête barbue à g. Dessus 𐤉𐤄𐤅 (יהו). Le tout dans un carré creux bordé d'un cordon.

Æ. 3. 3⁹⁰ gr. Brit. Mus.; Combe, Pl. XIII. 12; De Luynes, "Satr.," Pl. IV. 4; "N. Chr.," N.S. xvii., p. 229, n. 43. Pl. VI. No. 8.

La tête du droit est si exactement semblable à celle de l'Hadranos du bronze des Mamertins,[82] qu'il n'est pas douteux, qu'encore sur cette monnaie-ci il faille reconnaître le dieu syrien Hadran, déjà mentionné plus d'une fois. L'autre divinité, qui lui est associée sur cette monnaie est, ainsi que la légende l'indique יהו, Jahu, dieu chaldéen d'après Lydus:[83] *οἱ Χαλδαῖοι τὸν θεὸν Ἰαὼ λέγουσιν, ἀντὶ τοῦ φῶς νοητόν, τῇ Φοινίκων γλώσσῃ.* On a cru retrouver son nom dans le syllabaire assyrien[84] et c'est à lui que se rapporte l'oracle d'Apollon Clarien, conservé par Macrobe.[85] La roue ailée, symbole de la course

[82] Æ. 4½. ΑΔΡΑΝΟΥ. Tête barbue à g. couverte d'un casque corinthien avec cimier.

Rev.—Chien debout à dr. ΜΑΜΕΡΤΙΝΩΝ. Catal. Brit. Mus., Sicily, p. 109, n. 1, 2.

C'est aussi Hadranos, avec l'aide duquel Timoléon remporta sa première victoire, plutôt qu'Archias, qu'il faut reconnaître dans la tête barbue et casquée du bronze de Syracuse, qui est une des premières monnaies émises par Timoléon en 343. Head, "Num. Chron.," N.S. xiv., p. 24, Pl. VII. 4; Holm., "Gesch. Sicil.," ii., pp. 197, 201.

[83] Lydus. "De Mens.," iv. 38.

[84] Schrader, "Keilschr. u. Alt. Test.," p. 291; "Z. d. D. M. G.," xxvi. p. 44, n. 685—687; Finzi, l. c., p. 446; Haigh, "Z. f. Aeg. Spr.," xv. p. 39. Ili = Ni = Yau (יהו) or J (י). M. Sayce, "Elem. Assyr. Gram.," p. 13, n. 139 et M. Fr. Delitzsch donnent une autre explication à ce passage, v. Baudissin, "Stud. z. Sémit. Relig. Gesch.," p. 227.

[85] Macrob., "Sat.," i. 18, 20. *Φράζεο τὸν πάντων ὕπατον θεὸν ἔμμεν Ἰαὼ, χείματι μὲν τ' Ἀΐδην, Δία δ' εἴαρος ἀρχομένοιο, Ἥλιον δὲ θέρευς, μετοπώρου δ' ἄβρον Ἰαὼ.*

rapide du soleil, convient parfaitement au dieu solaire dont la nature est expliquée par l'oracle.[86] Pourtant ce type est très-insolite en numismatique et la seule analogie, dont je me souviens, est le Triptolème des bronzes d'Eleusis, qui tient un autre attribut dans la main, mais qui du reste est vêtu de même et dont la pose est identique. La drachme est d'un travail un peu archaïque mais très-soigné et ressemble pour le faire à deux autres pièces du même poids[87] et sur lesquelles le type du revers est aussi entouré d'un cordon tout pareil, mais dont l'attribution est malheureusement des plus incertaines. Tout ce qu'il est permis d'en dire est, que c'est peut-être dans le sud de la cinquième satrapie, qu'il faut chercher le lieu d'émission de ces intéressantes monnaies.

Reste enfin un statère, qui doit être mentionné parmi les monnaies syro-phéniciennes, parce qu'il peut être attribué à Azotus avec quelque probabilité.

4. Dagon ichthyomorphe à g. tenant de la dr. un trident, de la g. une couronne. Grènetis.

Rev.—?א (?ש) Lion, la gueule béante, marchant à dr. sur des rochers.

Æ. 6. 10[55] gr. = 198¾ gr. Cab. de Paris ; Mion., ii. p. 69, n. 2, Pl. XXXIV., 123 ; Pellerin, Rec., iii. p. 58, Pl. XCVI. 7. Décrit d'après une empreinte que je dois à l'obligeance de M. F. Feuardent. Pl. VI. No. 5.

Dagon avait un temple dans chaque ville de la Philistée,[88] mais il est mis spécialement en rapport avec

[86] Movers, i. p. 159, 538 s.

[87] "N. Chr.," N.S., xvii. p. 228, n. 38, 39. Dans la description du n. 38 le carré creux, bordé d'un cordon, qui entoure le type du revers, a été omis par erreur.

[88] Stark, "Gaza," p. 249.

Ascalon dans le mythe conservé par Xanthos le Lydien.[89] Aussi le voit-on figurer aux pieds de la déesse, qui tient la colombe, sur les bronzes d'Ascalon pendant les règnes d'Antonin[90] et de plusieurs de ses successeurs.[91]

Des figures de Dagon fort semblables se trouvent sur les monnaies d'Itanus, et sur des tétradrachmes aux types d'Alexandre, que M. Mueller[92] assigne à cette même ville de Crète. Le lion, symbole d'une divinité qui est portée par deux de ces animaux sur les bronzes du temps de Macrin et d'Alexandre Sévère,[93] marche sur des rochers. C'est ainsi qu'Ascalon était située elle-même sur des rochers, qui s'avancent jusque dans la mer, l'élément de Dagon, et qui semblent avoir donné le nom à la ville, אַשְׁקְלוֹן.[94] Sous Antonin et Marc-Aurèle les bronzes montrent encore Neptune, le pied posé sur un rocher et s'appuyant sur le trident, l'ancien attribut de Dagon.[95]

Le poids est celui des statères d'Aradus, où Dagon est aussi le type de quelques monnaies de moyen et de petit module, que, d'après l'inscription, j'ai cru pouvoir classer à cette ville. C'est que, quand le Périple de Scylax fut rédigé, Ascalon était, comme Aradus, aux Tyriens et faisait

[89] Athen., "Deipn.," viii. 37, p. 346. Ἀτεργάτις—κατεποντίσθη μετὰ Ἰχθύος τοῦ ὑιοῦ, ἐν τῇ περὶ Ἀσκάλωνα λίμνῃ.

[90] "Mélanges de Numism.," ii. p. 151, Vign.

[91] De Saulcy, "Numism. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 201, n. 12, Pl. X. 5; p. 202, n. 15, 16, 18; p. 204; Sept. Sever., n. 1, p. 205; Diadum. n. 1; Elagab. n. 1, 2.

[92] Mueller, "Alexand.," n. 901, 903.

[93] De Saulcy, l. c., p. 205; Macrin, n. 2, Sever. Alex., n. 4, Pl. X. 7.

[94] Stark, l. c., p. 28, 112.

[95] De Saulcy, l. c., p. 201, n. 11, p. 202, n. 20, p. 203, M. Aurel.; n. 2, p. 204, Commod.

partie de la Phénicie.[96] Il n'y aurait donc aucune objection à faire contre l'attribution de ce statère à Ascalon, si la légende אז convenait à cette ville. C'est ce qui n'est pourtant pas le cas, puisque le nom d'Ascalon commence par אשׁ et non par אז. Mais le même obstacle ne s'élève pas contre le classement de cette monnaie à la ville voisine Azotus. Les types conviennent aussi bien à Azotus qu'à Ascalon et la situation plus élevée de l'acropole d'Azotus[97] répond encore mieux aux rochers, sur lesquels marche le lion. Il est vrai qu'en hébreu Azotus est écrit avec un שׁ, אַשְׁדּוֹד, Ashdod, mais les Arabes, qui, comme M. de Goeje m'en informe, ont souvent conservé le mieux l'orthographe primitive, écrivent Azdûd, ازدود et les Grecs, qui étaient parfaitement à même de savoir comment les habitants d'Azotus prononçaient eux-mêmes,[98] transcrivent aussi Ἄζωτος avec un ζ.

En outre l'étymologie, proposée par Etienne de Byzance,[99] qui fait dériver Azotus d'un nom de femme Aza, mot qui signifie chèvre, עֵז,[100] ne quadre pas avec la forme אשׁדוד

[96] Scylax, "Peripl.," 104. Ἀσκά)λων πόλις Τυρίων καὶ βασίλεια. Ἐντᾶυ(θα ὄρος ἐστὶ τῆς Κοίλης) Συρίας. Gaza formait donc un état séparé du reste de la Syrie.

[97] Stark, p. 22.

[98] Le roi d'Assyrie Sargon rebâtit Azotus, dont il s'était emparé de force, vers 711, et la repeupla avec des habitants pris dans les provinces orientales de son empire, v. G. Smith, "Assyr. Eponym. Canon," p. 131, "Assyr. Discover.," p. 292; "Records of the Past," vii. p. 40, ix. p. 11. C'est peut-être à cette nouvelle population venue de loin, qu'est dû le changement du שׁ en ז dans le nom de la ville. Du reste Azotus doit avoir été bien fortifiée par Sargon, pour avoir pu soutenir un siège de 29 ans contre le roi Psammetichus, d'après le récit d'Hérodote, ii. 157.

[99] Steph. Byz., s. v. Ἄζωτος, etc.—*μετέφρασαν.*

[100] Il pourrait donc se faire que les monnaies, décrites "Num.

adoptée par les Israëlites. Il est donc à peu près certain, que ce beau statère donne la véritable forme du nom, אזדוד et qu'il doit être retiré de parmi les monnaies de Corcyre et d'Itanos pour être reporté à Azotus de Palestine.

Je ne me dissimule pas, que les séries monétaires des villes de Syrie et de Phénicie, pendant le cinquième et le quatrième siècle, présentent des lacunes fort regrettables, et c'est là en grande partie la cause, qu'il n'est guère possible de présenter à leur sujet que des hypothèses plus ou moins probables mais toutes fort peu certaines. Espérons que de nouvelles découvertes et une recherche diligente de pièces mentionnées dans divers catalogues, mais pas encore décrites exactement, viendront bientôt éclaircir et corriger beaucoup de ce qui maintenant est obscur et problématique.

J. P. Six.

Amsterdam, *janvier* 1878.

Note Additionnelle.

Grâce à l'inépuisable obligeance de M. F. Feuardent, j'ai reçu l'empreinte d'une monnaie inédite, qui vient d'être acquise par le British Museum. Cette pièce importante doit être placée en tête de la série de didrachmes, dont la description a été donnée dans cet article et mérite en tous points d'être publiée au plus vite. Aussi suis-je très-reconnaissant à M. R. Stuart Poole de m'en avoir accordé la permission.

Chron.," N.S., xvii. p. 228, n. 36, 37, qui ont pour type une tête de face avec cornes et oreilles de bouc, eussent plus de rapport avec Azotus qu'avec Gaza.

Guerrier, le casque corinthion à aigrette en tete, et tenant une lance de la gauche, courant à gauche sur un cheval au galop. Dessous 𐤌, dessus 𐤁 (מ), devant 𐤀𐤋𐤊𐤎𐤀𐤍𐤃𐤓 (אלכסנדר). Grènetis.

Rev.—Lion marchant à gauche sur une ligne de globules, la gueule béante. Devant oiseau à gauche sur une fleur de lis. Dessus 𐤀𐤋𐤊𐤎𐤀𐤍𐤃𐤓 𐤁 (אלכסנדר ב), à l'exergue 𐤕𐤓𐤌 ? (תרם?). Grènetis.

Æ. 5. 8^{035} gr. Brit. Mus. Catal. Sublii Pacha, febr. 1878, n. 888. Pl. VI. No. 1.

La présence dans le champ du 𐤌 seul, sans nom de divinité auquel il peut être rapporté, rend incertaine l'explication proposée plus haut pour cette lettre.

Le lion est celui qui porte la déesse sur le didrachme n. 2, la fleur paraît être la même que celle que la déesse tient en main et le nom d'Alexandre est aussi inscrit sur les deux premiers didrachmes.

La lettre 𐤌, sous le cavalier, qui se voit à la même place sur les statères gravés dans de Luynes, "Satrap.," Pl. XI. 4, XII. Soli (comp. VI., 2 Dardanus), est considérée généralement comme l'indication de l'atelier de Mallos. Ici elle peut désigner le préfet de la Syrie, qui depuis la conquête d'Alexandre était un Grec. (Arrian, "Anab.," iii. 16, 9.)

Il serait possible, sans doute, d'arriver à un résultat plus positif par le déchiffrement des caractères placés à l'exergue. Mais ces lettres sont indistinctes et il est difficile d'en reconnaître la véritable forme. Aussi n'est-ce qu'avec la plus grande réserve, que je propose de lire תרם et d'y voir le mot תְּרוּמָה, don, qui est usité pour les cadeaux présentés aux temples et les redevances payées aux prêtres. La légende entière אלכסנדר ב תרם serait alors à comparer avec celle de la drachme en argent de

Chios (Mion., v. p. 26, n. 236; S., viii. p. 10, n. 54, 55, "Rois Grecs," Pl. XXXIX. n. 18 et la remarque—p. 91), ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΔΩΡΟ(Ν) et constaterait le droit de frapper des didrachmes en argent accordé au temple de la déesse syrienne, l'émission des tétradrachmes et des statères d'or étant réservée à l'autorité royale. S'il était permis de supposer que la lettre ב désigne le jeune Alexandre, la date 315 proposée plus haut pour le commencement de la série monétaire de Bambyce, serait pleinement justifiée.

Depuis Alexandre I les rois de Macédoine ont été souvent représentés à cheval et armés d'une lance sur leurs monnaies, v. entr'autres Friedlaender, d. Koen. Muenzkab. 1877, Pl. V. n. 345, et il serait étrange qu'il n'en fut pas de même d'Alexandre le Grand. Cette considération m'avait déjà depuis longtemps induit à chercher le portrait du conquérant macédonien dans le guerrier à cheval des statères de Patraus, le roi de Péonie dont le fils ou le frère Ariston commandait la cavalerie péonienne dans l'armée d'Alexandre (Lenormant, "Rois Grecs," p. 11[1]), puis dans le cavalier armé des monnaies de Magnésie sur le Méandre (Friedlaender, d. Koen. Muenzkab., Taf. III., n. 223; Brandis, p. 460, 564; Mion., iii. p. 145, n. 620, 623), qui commencent à paraître vers la fin du quatrième siècle et encore dans le cavalier des bronzes de Colophon (Mion., iii. p. 76, n. 113, 117, 118; S., vi. p. 97, n. 108, 109, 111—116) et de Dardanus, où le casque est remplacé par la causia macédonienne (de Luynes, "Satrap.," Pl. VI. 2), enfin dans le guerrier courant à cheval des monnaies en argent de Cibyra, (Mion., S. vii., Pl. XII. 3, 4), qui ont le poids des cistophores et datent du second siècle avant notre ère. A Cibyra, le guerrier, dont la tête forme le type du

droit, porte un casque identique à celui dont est revêtu Alexandre I Bala, le roi de Syrie, sur quelques-uns de ses bronzes (Duane, "Coins of the Seleucidæ," Pl. XII. 9, 16), tandis que sur d'autres pièces (Ibid., n. 8, Pl. XI. n. 17—19) sa tête est couverte de la peau de lion, à l'instar de l'Hercule des monnaies d'Alexandre le Grand.

C'est là ce qui m'avait mis sur la voie de reconnaître le fondateur de l'empire des Grecs en Asie dans le cavalier qui forme le type de toutes ces pièces. Le didrachme syrien du British Museum, qui offre le même type, mais determiné cette fois par le nom même d'Alexandre, vient confirmer l'hypothèse, qui jusqu'ici restait incertaine faute de preuves directes et servira à retrouver toute une série de monnaies, qui continuent jusque sous les empereurs romains, sur lesquelles le héros macédonien, à cheval et armé de la lance, comme sur la célèbre mosaïque de Pompei, forme le type principal.

Avril 1878.

VII.

THE COINAGES OF WESTERN EUROPE: FROM THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE TO THE ACCESSION OF CHARLEMAGNE.

II.—Coinages of the Vandals and of the Ostrogoths.

The epochs of change in the coinage of Western Europe do not, as may be supposed, proceed *pari passu* with the historical events which they indicate and from which they result; or at any rate the movement of the two series, the series of events and the series of coins, is an échelon movement, a parallel advance in which the lead by many years is given to the political changes. The first age of barbaric incursion begins with the fifth century; and, as many provinces were then lost never to be recovered, we might speak of this time as the beginning of the gradual fall of the Empire in the West. The series of coins which is the direct outcome of the first barbaric inroads is that nameless imitative series which has been already discussed, though such coins can scarcely be distinguished at a date earlier than the middle of the fifth century. In the final extinction of imperial power at Rome, and in the fresh burst of invasion which closed the fifth century, we see the causes which led the

barbarian coinage, leaving its first anonymous condition, to assume a more independent character.

Between these two epochs there is a lull. The first wave of barbarism, of Teutonism, in which we noted the Visigoths, the Suevi, the Burgundians, and the Vandals as the most conspicuous names, has recoiled, leaving the central edifice of Roman power still standing, and has flowed off in various side streams, submerging the countries which lie around. Italy remains the seat of the Empire, though almost all her subsidiary dominions have been overthrown. During the reign of Valentinian III. (425—455), the son and successor of Honorius, the German races had time to settle themselves into their new homes and even to begin to dispute over the fruits of their conquests; but the quietude of Italy was only seriously disturbed by the taking of Africa by the Vandals. In this reign the power of the Huns was broken at the battle of Chalons (451), and by the death of Attila (453), events of almost greater importance to the Germanic races than to Rome itself. The Franks made good their settlement in Northern Gaul (420—451), the Burgundians extended their frontiers as far as the Mediterranean, and the Visigoths began the conquest of Spain: they achieved it in 461. After the death of Valentinian III., a quick pageant of nominal sovereigns closes the drama of Roman Imperial History: Maximus, 455, succeeded in the same year by Avitus; Majorian, 457; Libius Severus, 461; Anthemius, 467; Olybrius, Glycerius, and Julius Nepos, all in the year 472; and lastly Romulus Augustulus in 476. Behind these shadowy figures we discern the form of Ricimer the Goth, who possessed during the greater part of these reigns all the substance of power, and who may therefore be fitly described as the first

barbarian ruler of Italy—"the *kingdom of Italy*, a name to which the Western Empire was gradually reduced."

Just at this time the kingdom of the Vandals under Genseric was at the height of its power. This king was the first to organize that system of predatory naval warfare which in after times, under the name of *Vikingar*, became so favourite a pursuit among all the Germanic nations living upon the sea-coast. Within a short time of the conquest of Africa, Genseric had constructed almost the finest navy then to be found in the world, and in 440 he began his depredations upon the coasts of Italy; he took Sardinia and Sicily, and at length proceeded to the sack of Rome itself (455). Numerous expeditions against the barbarian were planned by the emperors of the East and West, but the power of Genseric remained unshaken during his lifetime. As is, however, so often the case with a barbarous people, the death of their one competent ruler was a signal for a rapid decline in the Vandal spirit and enterprise. Under the remainder of their native kings the nation ceases to be observable among the vital changes which are agitating Europe, until the final extinction of Vandal rule by the arms of Belisarius in 533.

The dignity of Emperor came to an end with the deposition of Romulus Augustus by Odoacer. But this barbarian founded no dynasty: the final transfer of power to a race of Teutonic kings was the work of the Ostrogoths under Theodoric, towards the close of the fifth century. Two fresh and decisively important currents of invasion at this time set in from the north and from the east; Chlodwig began his victorious career in Gaul, and Theodoric undertook his invasion of Italy. The course which the Ostrogoths pursued in this enterprise was

closely analogous with that which about a century before had been pursued by their brethren the Visigoths under Alaric. The East Goths found themselves settled in Pannonia, in the large tract of country which lies between Vienna and Sirmium, with all the wealth of Italy and the East inviting them from either side. As the Visigoths had done, they first turned their arms against the Byzantine Empire; but the position of Italy oppressed by Odoacer seemed to expose it as the prize of the fortunate invader, and Theodoric saw that there was more to be gained from the support than from the hostility of the Emperor of Constantinople. The authority of Zeno gave him a specious claim to the throne of Italy, which now owed allegiance to no emperor. He began his march in 489, and after a protracted struggle with Odoacer became master of Italy in 493. Under the title of king[1] his reign lasted thirty years (493—526); and the Ostrogothic dynasty in Italy remained until 553, when the arms of Justinian once more for a time united Italy to the Empire of the East.

Meanwhile, in 486, Chlodwig had begun his victorious career. In the north he subdued the Belgic tribes and the mixed kingdom of Syagrius, and after these successes came in contact with the Burgundians in the east of Gaul. For more than thirty years this war lasted, and was not finally extinguished until 532. But while thus occupied in the east, Chlodwig did not shrink from encountering the Visigothic nation in the south of Gaul, and by the battle of Poictiers (508) he secured to the

[1] Odoacer had assumed the same title, "Nomen regis Odoacer assumpsit" (Cassiodor. in Chr. A.D. 476). Perhaps *assumpsit* can hardly be applied to Theodoric. He was king before the invasion of Italy, for *rex* was but the Latinisation of the familiar Gothic *riks*.

Franks the possession of Aquitaine. So that the area of the Visigothic power was narrowed to Spain and the country bordering upon the Pyrenees.

As the outcome of all these political changes we have the change in the condition of the barbarian coinages, which now begin to emerge from their anonymous state, and to present first the monogram and then the name of the native rulers. The change is not, as may be supposed, uniform or instantaneous. The whole name of a king is introduced upon one series of coins, while another contemporary monarch is content to hint his existence by means of a monogram. But these variations have their determining causes. Some sense of subjection to the Empire will be shown by an adherence to the established imperial type and legend; and as the more distant conqueror found it easier to affect this subjection and to give to the Emperor the *congé d'élire* in apportioning him his kingdom, it may easily happen that the coinages of those countries which lie nearer the heart of the Western Empire show a greater freedom with established usage. This is the case. The first coinages to emerge from an anonymous condition are those of the Vandals and the Ostrogoths, and these have many points of mutual resemblance and of distinction from the other barbaric coinages of Europe, so that they naturally fall into a class apart. The Vandalic is not of course a European coinage, and might on that account be thought to lie outside the scope of our present inquiry. But it is the money of a Teutonic people, and is, beside, so closely allied in character with the coinages of the other Teutons, that it cannot properly be omitted in this place. For, as I have already said, our concern is rather with nationalities than with countries.

We begin therefore with the—

Vandal Coinage.

The following is the list of the Vandal kings in Africa, the names of those who struck no coins being placed within square brackets.

		A D	
I.	[Genseric	427[2]]	
II.	[Huneric	477]	
III.	Gunthamund . . .	484	struck in silver (and copper ?)
IV.	Thrasamund . . .	496	do. do.
V.	Hilderic	523	do. do. and copper.
VI.	Gelimir	530	do. do. do.

Defeated by Belisarius at the battle of Trikameron 533, and captured 534.

The types of these sovereigns are as follows :—

Gunthamund.

SILVER.

Piece of One Hundred.

1. *Obv.*—DN REX GVN THAMVNDV. Draped and diademed bust to right.

Rev.—D$\bar{N}$ within laurel wreath.

Æ. ·65 *circ.* Wt. 2 grammes *circ.* B.M.; Friedlander,[3] Pl. I. 1.

(Pl. II. 1.)

Piece of Fifty.

2. *Obv.*—DN RX G VNTHA. Same type.

Rev.—D·N Same type; wreath varied.

Æ. ·5 *circ.* Wt. 1·1 gramme *circ.* B.M.; Friedlander, Pl. I. 2.

(Pl. II. 2.)

[2] Invaded Africa 429, took Carthage 439.

[3] The references in the Vandal series are to the plates in Dr. Friedlander's "Münzen der Vandalen," those in the Ostrogothic series are to the same writer's "Münzen der Ostgothen." The numbers upon these plates begin afresh with each new reign.

Piece of Twenty-five.

3. *Obv.*—Same type.

Rev.—$\frac{\overline{D.N}}{XXV}$ within similar wreath.

Æ. ·4 *circ.* Wt. ·5 gramme *circ.* B.M.; Friedlander, Pl. I. 3.

(Pl. II. 3.)

GUNTHAMUND ?

COPPER.

4. *Obv.*—DN G. . . THA (inscr. obscure). Bust similar to that on silver coins of Gunthamund.

Rev.—Victory standing to left, holding wreath; behind, cross.

Æ. ·35. Wt. ·58 gramme. B.M.

(Pl. II. 4.)

THRASAMUND.

SILVER.

Piece of Fifty.

1. *Obv.*—DN RG TH[R] SAMVNDS. Draped and diademed bust to right.

Rev.—$\overline{\underline{D.N}}$ within laurel wreath.

Æ. ·5 *circ.* Wt. 1 gramme *circ.* B.M.; Friedlander, Pl. I. 1.

(Pl. II. 5.)

2. *Obv.*—Same.

Rev.—$\overline{D.N}$ within similar wreath.

Æ. ·5 *circ.* Wt. 1 gramme *circ.* B.M.

Piece of Twenty-five.

3. *Obv.*—DN SAMVS (inscr. defaced). Same type.

Rev.—$\frac{\text{D.N}}{XXV}$ within laurel wreath.

Æ. ·4 *circ.* Wt. ·49 gramme. Friedlander, Pl. I. 2.

Hilderic.

SILVER.

Piece of Fifty.

1. *Obv.*—DN HILDE RIX REX. Draped and diademed bust to right.

 Rev.—FELIX KARTC. Draped female figure standing, facing, holding ears of corn in either hand.

 Æ. ·6 *circ.* Wt. 1·1 gramme *circ.* B.M.; Friedländer, Pl. I. 1.

 (Pl. II. 6.)

Piece of Twenty-five.

2. *Obv.*—Similar.

 Rev.—XXV within laurel wreath.

 Æ. ·5 *circ.* Wt. ·5 gramme *circ.* B.M.; Friedländer, Pl. I. 2.

COPPER.

3. *Obv.*—HIL [REX]. Draped and diademed bust to right.

 Rev.—Within laurel wreath, an even-limbed cross-pattee.

 Æ. ·35 *circ.* Wt. ·45 gramme *circ.* B.M.; Friedländer, Pl. I. 3.

 (Pl. II. 7.)

Gelimir.

SILVER.

Piece of Fifty.

1. *Obv.*—DN REX G ELAMIR. Draped and diademed bust to right enclosed in laurel wreath.

 +

 Rev.—DN within laurel wreath.

 Æ. ·6 *circ.* Wt. 1·18 gramme *circ.* B.M.; Friedländer, Pl. I. 1.

2. *Obv.*—DN RX G . LIMA. Similar bust.

 Rev.—D.N within laurel wreath.

 Caronni, Pl. V. No. 38.

COPPER.

3. *Obv.*—GEIL[AMIR]. Diademed bust to right.

Rev.—Gelimir or Geilimir in monogram within laurel wreath.

Æ. ·4. Wt. ·9 gramme. B.M.; Friedlander, Pl. I. 2.

4. *Obv.*—Similar.

Rev.—Similar; monogram varied.

Æ. ·4. Wt. ·7 gramme.

This is the list of the coins bearing the names of Vandal kings. There are, however, some other coins which were unquestionably struck under these rulers, though they do not bear their names. Their types are as follows:—

HONORIUS.

1. *Obv.*—HONORIVS P[P]AVGT (the last four letters obscure). Draped and diademed bust to right.

Rev.—ANN O K. Draped female figure (Carthage) standing, facing, holding in either hand ears of corn; in exergue star of eight points between laurel branches.

Æ. ·55. Wt. 1·3 gramme. B.M.; Friedländer.

(Pl. II. 8.)

2. *Obv.*—Similar type, but the legend seems to be HONORIVS PVS AGT.

Rev.—ANN O IIII K. Same type as last.

Æ. ·5. Wt. ·9 gramme. B.M.

(Another, ANNO V K. See Friedlander, "Munz. der Vand.," Huneric, Pl. I. 2. Sabatier, Pl. XX. 1.)

There can be no doubt from the resemblance of the reverse types of these coins to those of Hilderic that the pieces are Vandalic; and this resemblance might incline us to place them about the end of Hildaric's reign, during the disturbances which closed the period of the Vandal power in Africa. On the other hand, the name of Honorius upon the obverse makes it almost impossible

that the coins should have been struck so long after his death. Honorius died in 424, and it was not until 428 that Genseric passed over into Africa at the request of Count Boniface. There seems no reason, therefore, why we should not look upon these two coins as having been struck soon after the Vandal invasion of Africa, probably in the lifetime of Genseric himself. The coins are of rather better workmanship than those which have been previously described; and the obverses appear as though they had stood as prototype to the regular coinage of the Vandals; why the reverses should not have also been reproduced or only partially so under Hilderic, I am unable to conjecture. Dr. Friedländer adopts a different theory with regard to these coins, or rather to the second of the two, for he seems not to have seen any piece in such good condition as the first. He reads the legend on the obverse HONOR ϒVS ACT, and conjectures that it may really be HONORIKVS ACT, and the coin bear the name of Huneric and not of Honorius. The two coins in the British Museum, however, seem to upset Dr. Friedländer's tentative reading of the pieces in the Berlin Museum; and though it is far from impossible that the pieces were struck by Huneric, we cannot claim to possess any pieces with his name. We must consider the legend upon these coins as blundered in some way from the familiar P.P.AVG. Nor does in any way make against this opinion, that the obverses of these coins were copied directly from those of Honorius, the fact that the reverses were peculiar to the country in which the coins were struck. The use of the expressions Anno iv. or v. is, as Friedländer points out, contrary to the Roman usage[4] of

[4] Justinian adopted the custom of indicating the years of his

that time, in accordance with which dates were expressed in the years of the consulate or tribunician power. The Vandals were never slavish imitators of the Roman coinage. Genseric (or whoever struck the coins in question) having no consulship or tribunician power, but having adopted the title of king (rex), simply records the event by the years of his reign.

VANDAL LARGE COPPER.

(Without the name of any king.)

Type 1.

1. *Obv.*—KART HAGO. Soldier standing, facing, holding lance in left.

Rev.—Head of horse with bridle; in exergue X|II.

Æ. 1 *circ.* Wt. 10 grammes *circ.* B.M.; Friedlander, Pl. I. 1.

(Pl. II. 9.)

2. Same type; but in exergue of reverse, XXI.

Æ. ·75 *circ.* Wt. 6·1 grammes *circ.* B.M.; Friedländer, Pl. I. 2.

3. Same type; but in exergue of reverse, XII.

Æ. ·75 *circ.* Wt. 5·5 grammes *circ.* B.M.; Friedländer, Pl. I. 3.

Type 2.

4. *Obv.*—Draped female figure (Carthage) standing, facing, holding ears of corn in either hand.

Rev.—$\overline{\text{NX}}$|II within triple wreath.

Æ. 1·1 *circ.* Wt. 11·5 grammes *circ.* B.M.; Friedländer, Pl. I. 4.

(Pl. II. 10.)

5. Same type; but $\overline{\text{NXXI}}$ in centre of reverse.

Æ. ·85 *circ.* Wt. 6·8 grammes *circ.* B.M.; Friedlander, Pl. I. 5.

reign in this manner. But this was not till after the fall of Carthage.

6. Same type; but $\overline{\text{NXII}}$ in centre of reverse.

Æ. ·75. Wt. 4·7 grammes *circ.* B.M.; Friedlander, Pl. I. 6.

Type 8.

7. *Obv.*—Draped and diademed bust to left; in front, palm branch.

Rev.—$\frac{\overline{\text{N}}}{\text{IIII}}$ within pearl border.

Æ. ·5. Wt. 1·8 gramme *circ.* B.M.; Friedlander, Pl. I.

Finally, we have a series of coins with the name of Justin, which Dr. Friedländer ascribes to the elder Justin, and supposes to have been struck under the orders of Hilderic. Hilderic, as the son of Huneric and Eudocia, was closely connected with the Byzantine court, and his death was the professed cause of the Vandal war. It seems more reasonable, however, to suppose that these coins were struck under the name of Justin II., after the reconquest of Africa for the Roman Empire.

Piece of Fifty.

1. *Obv.*—DN IVST NVS PPA. Draped and diademed bust to right.

Rev.—FELIX CARTA. Draped female figure (Carthage) standing, facing, holding ears of corn in either hand (as on coins of Hilderic).

Æ. ·5 *circ.* Friedlander, Pl. I.

Piece of Twenty-five.

2. *Obv.*—Similar inscription and type.

Rev.—$\frac{\text{XX}}{\text{V}}$; above, cross; all within laurel wreath.

Æ. ·4 *circ.* Friedländer, Pl. I.

There are besides numerous small copper coins, which from their style and from the circumstances of their find we may attribute to Africa during the sixth century.

But it would be difficult to say whether they are to be classed as really Vandalic, or as we have classed the above coins, as imperial money struck after the recovery of Africa. Some of these are given in Friedländer, Pl. I.

The monetary system upon which this coinage was founded calls for some inquiry. Under the sway of barbarian rulers, the trade and industry, the refinement and luxury, of Europe were languishing or dead, and with the loss of these the loss of a currency was less felt, and the use of a coinage diverted to the purposes of mere hoarding. In the East these influences were unfelt. There during the latter half of the fifth century the power of the Empire was consolidated rather than impaired. The monetary system had been established upon a tolerably firm and consistent basis, although owing to many causes, the chief of which were (1) the reckless tampering with the currency which had marked some earlier reigns, and (2) the wide extent of the Byzantine Empire and the heterogeneous character of its inhabitants, the system of exchange had been since Constantine founded chiefly upon weight. The unit of valuation was now the denarius of copper, or *nummus*. The aureus remained under the name of the *solidus aureus*, containing 6,000 nummi. The silver coins were the *siliqua*, one-twenty-fourth of the solidus, and therefore containing 250 nummi, and the half-siliqua, containing 125; the weight of these pieces being some 1·1 gramme and ·65 gramme respectively. Coins of Justinian marked CN (250) and PKE (125) are evidently the siliqua and the half-siliqua, and their weights are a little less than those given above.[5]

The name *follis*, purse, which in the time of Constan-

[5] Pinder and Friedländer, "Münzen Justinians," p. 25, &c.

tine had stood for a definite weight of coinage in any of the three metals, was now appropriated to a coined piece of copper reckoned at one-sixth of the siliqua, and therefore, strictly speaking, at 41⅔ nummi; but its value in relation to the siliqua was sufficiently indicated by the figure XXXX. The subdivision of this was the three-quarter follis, marked XXX, and the half-follis, marked XX. It is evident that these pieces could not have passed current for their nominal value as against the standard coins, because while the nominal value of the follis must have been $\frac{1}{144}$ of the solidus, Procopius tells us that in his time 180 or even 210 were exchanged against the higher coin[6]. This is, of course, no more than saying that the follis was, like our penny, a token-coin; but the fact sufficiently explains the inexactitude displayed in using XXXX in the place of 41⅔. Such a discrepancy could have been of no real consequence, because, whenever the intrinsic value of the follis was taken into account, it was found to be far less than the nominal value.

The Vandals, we see, had silver coins corresponding in respect of their weight almost exactly with the Byzantine siliqua, its double, and its half. These are the coins marked respectively ⌊—, ⊂— (L, C), and XXV. They had also a series of copper equal to the follis and its divisions, though the actual value of these pieces in terms of the lowest coin denomination (the nummus) are more clearly marked than is the case with the Byzantine copper coins; for here, instead of XXXX and XX put respectively for 41⅔ nummi and for 20⅚ nummi, we have in the case of the Vandals the numbers XLII and XXI. Beside these two denominations of copper coins we have another series

[6] Sabatier, vol. i. p. 68.

coined at the same time with the former (for they follow them through their variations of type), and bearing the numerals XII, IIII, and I. These pieces, says Mommsen,[7] have no relationship with the other pieces of copper or with the siliqua, but belong to a peculiar and local system (found, however, likewise in Egypt) and represent the $\frac{1}{600}$, $\frac{1}{1800}$, and $\frac{1}{7200}$ of the solidus. The smallest coin without numeral would be the unit of valuation of both series of copper; and there would be nothing impossible in the side by side existence of these two series, as they would both have an exchangeable value with the silver, though not with each other.

The numerals which we find upon the Vandal silver coins present greater difficulties. As the coin with L (50) exchanges with the Byzantine siliqua worth 250, the unit of value for the Vandal silver could hardly have been the same as with the Byzantine coin. At least, if the numeral on the silver gives the value in terms of the nummus, then the difference between the real and nominal value of the copper must have been very great, much greater than it was in the East. We have seen that in the Byzantine Empire coined copper was valued at about one-third more than its intrinsic worth. But if copper was of the same value in Africa and in the East, the coined copper must have passed for more than six times its metal value.[8] There would be no special difficulty in this, so long as the token money was confined to the country in which it was struck, and so long as the highest denomination of the token money was not equal to the lowest

[7] "Hist. de la Mon. rom.," ed. Blacas, Part III. c. vi. § 11.

[8] For the gold solidus = 24 Byzantine siliquæ = 24 of the Vandal coin marked L = 1,200 nummi in coined value. In metal value the solidus was (as Procopius tells us) exchanged for about 200 copper coins of 40 nummi = 8,000 nummi.

denomination of money which passed for its intrinsic value. But such a state of things would be impossible if the Vandal copper marked XLII, or XXI, were current at the same time as the Vandal half-siliqua marked 25. For the larger copper coin which in the East was worth one-sixth of the siliqua, would here bear a higher mark of value than the Vandal half-siliqua. We must therefore, I think, conclude that the copper Vandal coins with the numerals XLII, XXI, could not have been concurrent with the Vandal silver. Nor again could the series with the numerals XII, IIII, because of the identity of type between the first of these coins and the other series of copper. The most reasonable way out of the difficulty seems to be to suppose that the copper coins bearing the names of the Vandal kings, but without marks of value, represent the token money which was used concurrently with the Vandal silver, the latter being multiples of that by 100, by 50, and by 25; but that the larger copper coins with numerals and without names were struck at some other time.

What was this other time? Not after the restoration of Byzantine power, because if this currency had been reintroduced after a period of disuse it would surely have been made consistent with the copper currency of Constantinople, and not unnecessarily exact in its marks of value. It would have borne the numerals XXXX, and XX, and not XLII and XXI. The only conclusion left to us, therefore, is that the large copper coins were all anterior to the striking of silver coins by Gunthamund and his successors. These coins may have been struck while the gold and silver coinage of Constantinople or a gold and silver coinage of a strictly imitative character was still in use. Then when the Vandal

kings began to set up a national coinage quite independent of the money of the East, they would disuse the larger copper coins and continue striking only the small copper, now with the name of a Vandal king. This copper coin, which if it had been considered equal to the Byzantine nummus would have been the two hundred and fiftieth part of the Byzantine siliqua, now rises to be one-fiftieth of the Vandal coin of the same weight. There is nothing inconsistent with probability in this supposition; nor would the difference between the numbers on the Byzantine and the Vandal silver coins be productive of any inconvenience, if this course were pursued with respect to the copper. So long as the Vandal copper remained a token money with a circulation confined to its own country nothing would interfere with the exchange of the silver against the silver of Constantinople. But the use of this token money of a very low intrinsic value would, as we have seen, be almost impossible if some of it were struck of a higher nominal value than the silver coins.

We see that the approach of the monetary standard and the medium of exchange was much closer between the country of the Vandals and the East, than it was between the East and the West of Europe. In the last the medium of exchange could only have been gold; but between Africa and the East the silver money had also an interchangeable value. The intimacy existing between any two lands will be to a great extent indicated by this matter of the relationship of the coinages, the lower the medium of exchange, the closer the intimacy between the people of two countries; as at the present day we find that in England and Germany gold is the medium of exchange with all other countries, whereas between France, Switzerland, Italy, and Belgium the franc sup-

plies a common medium. In comparing, therefore, the coinage of the Vandals with that early imitative coinage of Europe which was made the subject of the first part, we remark especially two things. The independence of the types and names upon the Vandal coins shows us very clearly the independent, we might almost say defiant, attitude of the Vandal rule in Africa. It makes no pretence, as do at first the kingdoms of the Visigoths and Ostrogoths, and as do in a negative sort of way the new barbarian dynasties in Central and Northern Gaul, to exist by permission of the Eastern Emperor. But while it asserts in this respect its political freedom, as regards the internal constitution of the Vandal state, its civilisation, commerce, and its laws, there was probably a much closer approach to the condition of the Byzantine Empire than existed between Constantinople and the West of Europe; and this second fact is indicated by the approach in the exchangeable values of the Vandal and Byzantine money. We have already dwelt upon these twofold aspects of life, the political and social, and suggested how they are likely to be indicated by the state of the coinage at this time. So far as the last may be taken for an indication, we gather that the influence of the Vandal rule in changing the course of domestic life was much less felt than its power to change the outward constitution of the country. Much the same, we shall see, may be said of the rule of the Ostrogoths in Italy, at least as compared with the remoter countries of the West.

Ostrogothic Coinage.

As for about half a century the greater part of the Roman territories beyond the Alps had been in the possession of barbarian nations, the system of anonymous

barbaric coinage was at the time of Augustulus' deposition in full activity. It even seems probable that some slight changes were introduced into the conventional legend upon these imitative coins, showing to those who understood them the place at which or the ruler by whom they were struck. Upon the fall of the Empire the same system of coinage was passed over to Italy, so that the earliest barbaric coinage of this country is likewise a series of imitative gold, showing by varieties in the legend that it was in reality struck not in the East but in Italy. A similar system of mint-marks had, indeed, long been familiar. So soon as the letters OB are added to the mark of Constantinople on the Imperial solidi, the exergual legend CONOB ceases to be a distinctive mint-mark. We must look upon it merely as indicating that the coin is of the value of the Constantinople solidus, that is, that it contains a one-seventy-second part of the pound of gold of the Imperial standard. The mint itself is frequently indicated in the case of Italian money by the letters RM (Rome), or RV (Ravenna) in the field; nevertheless, as early as the time of Gratian (367), we begin to distinguish the difference, COMOB in place of CONOB as indicating the coinage of Rome. About the beginning of the sixth century this difference ceases to be distinctive, except that it is always found upon Italian, never upon Byzantine coins. In place of this a number of other small changes are made, both in the exergual legend and in the end of that in the field; some slight variations in type too accompany these changes of legend. The general distinction of the Italian from the Gallic money has already been noticed, namely, that the Italian tremisses, before the time of Justinian, commonly present the victory facing, the Gallic in profile.

M. Charles Lenormant believes himself to have identified the following mint-marks upon certain Italian coins (tremisses) of the time of Anastasius, and struck, no doubt, under some Gothic ruler [9]:—

Rome	VICTORIA AVGVSTOROM. Ex. COMOB. Victory facing holding orb and wreath. Star above head on obv., in field on rev.
Bologna . . .	VICTORIA AVGVSTOBON. Ex. COMOB. Same type. Stars as on last.
Ravenna . . .	VICTORIA AVGVSTORVN. Ex. CONOB. Same type. No star; cross above head on obv.
Naples . . .	VICTORIA AVGVSTORN. Ex. COMOB. Same type. No star; point above head on obv.
Pavia (*i.e.* Ticinius)	VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM. Ex. CONOT. Same type. Point above head on obv.; star in field of rev. Same legend in field. Ex. CONO (TC, or TICI in monogram). Same type.
Verona (Colonia Nova Verona[10])	VICTORIA AVGVSTORV. Ex. C′ N′. Same type; cross above head on obv.; star in field on rev.

Ricimer, it is believed, placed his monogram upon some gold coins struck in the name of Libius Severus; but no coinage can be assigned to Odoacer. Doubtless, as was the case with the Vandals, an anonymous gold coinage of the class described above was the sole coinage of Odoacer, that is, of the earlier days of barbarian rule in Italy, and doubtless this anonymous gold money was not supplanted but accompanied by the regular Ostrogothic coinage in silver and copper. Theodoric seems to have passed beyond the practice of obscurely marking the mint

[9] "Rev. Num.," 1848, p. 106, &c.

[10] The complete name was Colonia Augusta Nova Verona Gallieniana.

from which the coins were issued, for he placed his monogram upon some of the gold solidi, and in this he was shortly afterwards imitated by the kings of Burgundy. The point where the money of the Ostrogoths separates itself from the other contemporary coinages of Western Europe, and gravitates towards that of the Vandals, and likewise towards the coinage of Constantinople, is in the issue of silver and copper series, such as were unknown in Gaul or Spain. Some feeble attempt towards a silver coinage was alone made by the kings of Burgundy, whereof a specimen was given upon Plate I.[11]

It will not be necessary here to do more than describe the different types of Ostrogothic coins, referring the reader who wishes for a more minute description to Dr. Friedländer's "Münzen der Ostgothen."

The following is the list of Ostrogothic monarchs, those who struck no coins being placed within square brackets :—

	A.D.	
Theodoric	498	struck in gold and silver.
Athalaric	526	struck in silver and copper.
Theodahat	534	,, ,, ,,
Witiges } Matasunda }	536	,, ,, ,,
[Ildibad	540]	
[Eraric	541]	
Baduila (Totila)	541	struck in silver and copper.
Theia (or Thila)	552	,, ,, ,,

Defeated and slain by Narses at the battle of Mons-lactarius, A.D. 553.

THEODORIC.

GOLD.

(With monogram of Theodoric.)

Type of Anastasius I.

1. *Obv.*—DN ANASTA SIVS PFAVG. Bust in armour facing three-quarters towards right, wearing helmet and holding lance over right shoulder.

[11] No. 8.

Rev.—VICTORIA AVGGG, monogram of Theodoricus. Victory, left, holding long cross; in field to left, RM in monogram (Rome); to right, star. Exergue, COMOB or CO (MA in monogram) OB.

Æ. 1·25. Wt. 4·3 grammes. B.M.; Friedländer.

(Pl. II. 11.)

2. Another with monogram of Ravenna (RV) and CONOB in ex.

Æ. 1·8. Wt. 4·5 grammes. B.M.

M. Charles Lenormant reads the exergue of the first coin CO (MA in monogram) OB. He suggests that the COMA thus written may stand for the *comarca* or campagna of Rome. This seems a great deal to discover out of so little.

SILVER.

(With name of Anastasius I.)

Half-Siliquas.

3. *Obv.*—DN ANASTASIVS AVG. Diademed bust in armour and paludamentum to right.

Rev.—Within palm wreath, monogram of Theodoricus; above which, cross.

Æ. ·45. Wt. ·6 gramme *circ.* B.M.; Friedländer, Pl. I. 1.

4. *Obv.*—DN ANASTASIVS PP AVG (reversed). Similar bust; in exergue, ONR (or IMD).

Rev.—INVIC TA ROMA; in centre, monogram of Theodoricus (different from that on Nos. 1 or 8); above monogram, cross; below, mm. (a star or else C ✳ M or W ✳ ↄ)

Æ. ·45. Wt. ·8 gramme *circ.* B.M.; Friedländer, Pl. I. 2a—2c.

(Pl. II. 12.)

(With name of Justin I.)

Half-Siliquas.

5. *Obv.*—DN IVSTI NVS AVG. Similar bust.

Rev.—As on No. 8.

Æ. ·45. Wt. ·7 gramme *circ.* B.M.; Friedländer, Pl. I. 8a, b.

6. *Obv.*—DN IVSTINVS PF AVG. Similar bust.
Rev.—Similar to No. 4.
Æ. ·55. Wt. ·65 gramme *circ.* Friedlander, Pl. I. 4.

ATHALARIC.
SILVER.
(With name of Justin I.)
Siliquas.

1. *Obv.*—DN IVSTI NVS P AVG. Diademed bust in armour and paludamentum to right.
Rev.—Within palm wreath, monogram of Athalaricus between the letters DN; above, cross; below, star of six points.
Æ. ·5. Wt. 1·4 gramme *circ.* B.M.; Friedlander, Pl. I. 1.

2. *Obv.*—Similar.
Rev.—Within palm wreath, DN / ATHAL / ARICVS / REX
Æ. ·55. Wt. 1·4 gramme *circ.* Friedlander, Pl. I. 2.

Half-Siliqua.

3. Similar bust to last; but, DN / ATHA / LARI / CVS
Æ. ·5. Wt. ·7 gramme, over. B.M.; Friedlander, Pl. I. 3. (Pl. II. 13.)

(With name of Justinian I.)
Siliqua.

4. *Obv.*—DN IVSTINI ANVS P AVG (var. DN IVSTI NIAN AVG.) Similar bust.
Rev.—Similar to No. 1.
Æ. ·5. Wt. 1·4 gramme. B.M.; Friedlander, Pl. I. 4. (Pl. II. 14.)

Half-Siliqua.

5. *Obv.*—Similar.
Rev.—Similar to No. 2.
Æ. ·5. Wt. ·6 gramme *circ.* B.M.; Friedländer, Pl. I. 5.

RAVENNA.

Piece of Ten Nummi.

11. *Obv.*—Within laurel wreath, FELIX R AVENNA. Female bust (Ravenna) wearing mural crown, to right.

Rev.—Within laurel wreath, monogram of Athalaricus, differing from those given above; on either side D N; above, cross; below, star.

Æ. ·7. Unique? Friedlander, Pl. I. 11.

THEODAHATUS OR THEODATUS.

SILVER.

(With name of Justinian I.)

Siliqua.

1. *Obv.*—DN IVSTI NIAN AVG. Diademed bust in armour and paludamentum, to right.

Rev.—Within palm wreath, monogram of Theodatus.

R. ·5. Wt. 1·4 gramme, over. B.M.; Friedlander, Pl. II. 1.

Half-Siliqua.

2. *Obv.*—Similar.

Rev.—Within palm wreath, DN / THEODA / HATHVS / REX

R. ·45. Wt. ·7 gramme, over. B.M.; Friedländer, Pl. II. 2.

(Pl. II. 17.)

COPPER.

(With the name of Justinian I.)

Nummus or Minimus.

3. *Obv.*—DN IVSTINIAN. Similar bust to right.

Rev.—Within palm wreath, monogram of Theodatus, differing from that on No. 1.

Æ. ·35. Wt. ·4 gramme *circ.* B.M.; Friedländer, Pl. II. 3.

(Without name of Emperor.)
Piece of Forty Nummi.

4. *Obv.*—DN THEODA HATVS REX. Bust of king facing, head right, wearing richly jewelled robe, with cross on breast, and closed crown.

Rev.—VICTORIA PRINCIPVM. Victory walking to right on prow, holding wreath and palm branch.

Æ. 1. B.M.; Friedlander, Pl. II. 4.
(Pl. II. 18.)

This is in every way a remarkable piece. It is the first coin ever issued having the portrait of a king of the Teutonic race. The busts which appear upon the contemporary coins of the Vandals, or upon the other coins of this dynasty, are in no sense portraits or attempts at portraits. Though they are surrounded by the name of the king, they are merely conventional busts copied directly from the imperial coins; and the same remark applies to the coins of Theodeberht the Frank, which begin to appear about this time. But in the case of the coins before us there can be no doubt that a portrait was intended, and that the features of Theodahat, down to the slight moustache upon the upper lip, are given with as much skill as the artist possessed. The dress, too, is worth noticing. Its magnificence is barbaric, and to our eyes almost Oriental; and we here see the closed crown, which has been throughout mediæval and modern Europe the symbol of empire. The Roman imperial office was expressed by the *diademed* head; the Germanic invaders of Roman territory adopted the crown as the symbol of nobility and of kingship. We may guess from these coins that the Ostrogoths, while they took the DN, which was the title applied to the Roman emperors, did not finally adopt either the imperial title or the imperial diadem. They adhere to the "rex" and the crown, which, has, perhaps, more sacred associations for *them*.

ROME.

Piece of Ten Nummi.

5. *Obv.*—INVICT A ROMA. Helmeted bust of Rome to right.

Rev.—Within wreath $\frac{\text{DN}}{\text{THEODA}}{\text{HATHVS}}{\text{REX}}$; on band of wreath, X.

Æ. ·75. B.M.; Friedlander, Pl. II. 5.

WITIGES.

SILVER.

(With name of Justinian I.)

Siliqua.

1. *Obv.*—DN IVSTI NIANVS. (var IVSTINI AN VS PP AVG) Diademed bust in armour and paludamentum, to right.

Rev.—Within wreath $\frac{\text{DN}}{\text{VVIT}}{\text{IGES}}{\text{REX}}$

Æ. ·5. Wt. 1·8 gramme *circ.* B.M.; Friedlander, Pl. II. 1.

COPPER.

(Without name of Emperor.)

ROME.

Piece of Ten Nummi.

2. *Obv.*—INVICT A ROMA. Helmeted bust of Rome to right.

Rev.—Within palm wreath $\frac{\text{DN}}{\text{VVIT}}{\text{IGES}}{\text{REX}}$

Æ. ·6. B.M.; Friedlander, Pl. II. 2.

(Pl. II. 19.)

MATASUNDA.

SILVER.

(With name of Justinian I.)

Siliqua.

1. *Obv.*—DN IVSTINI ANVS PP AV. Draped and diademed bust to right.

Rev.—Within wreath, monogram of Matasunda.

Æ. ·55. Wt. 1·2 gramme *circ.* Friedlander, Pl. II.

BADUILA.

SILVER.

(With name of Justinian I.)

Siliqua.

1. *Obv.*—DN IVSTINI ANVS P AV. Diademed bust in armour and paludamentum, to right.

Rev.—Within wreath DN / BADV / ILA / REX

Æ. ·6. Copenhagen; Friedländer, Pl. II. 1.

(With name of Anastasius I., revived.)

Siliqua.

2. *Obv.*—DN ANAS TASIVS P AVG. Similar bust to right.

Rev.—As on No. 1.

Æ. ·6. Wt. 1·4 gramme *circ.* B.M.; Friedländer, Pl. II. 2.

Quarter-Siliqua?

3. *Obv.*—Similar type; but DN ANASTASIVS.

Rev.—Same.

Æ. ·4. Wt. 1·44 gramme *circ.* B.M.; Friedländer, Pl. II. 3.

These coins, with the name of Anastasius, who had been long dead, are very curious. We see from the former coins that Baduila had no precedent for placing any other than an imperial name with the imperial bust on the obverses of his silver. The Ostrogoths having been now for nine years at war with Justinian, his name was rejected, and that of the dead Anastasius was put in

its stead; afterwards this was again displaced by the name of Baduila, as we see on the next coin.

(Without name of Emperor.)

Siliqua.

4. *Obv.*—DN RADV ILA REX. Diademed bust in armour and paludamentum to right.

Rev.—As on No. 1.

Æ. ·55. Wt. 1·4 gramme *circ.* B.M.; Friedlander, Pl. II. 6.

(Pl. II. 20.)

COPPER.

(With name of Anastasius I.)

Nummi or Minimi.

5. *Obv.*—DN ANASTASIVS. Same type.

Rev.—Within wreath (palm or laurel ?), monogram of Baduila.

Æ. ·4. B.M.; Friedlander, Pl. II. 5.

6. *Obv.*—DN ANAS . . . AVG. Draped and filleted bust to right.

Rev.—Within wreath $\frac{\text{DN REX}}{\text{B}}$

Æ. ·4. B.M.; Friedlander, Pl. II. 4.

(Without name of Emperor).

Piece of Ten Nummi.

7. *Obv.*—DN BADVILA REX. Bust in richly jewelled robe and arched crown facing.

Rev.—FLOREAS SEMPER. Warrior standing towards right, holding spear; before him, X.

Æ. 1·85. Wt. 7·5 grammes *circ.* B.M.; Friedlander, Pl. II. 9.

Piece of Five Nummi ?

8. Same type.

Æ. ·7. Wt. 4·2 grammes *circ.* B.M.

(Pl. II. 21.)

(Though both these pieces are marked X, the first is double of the second.)

Piece of Ten Nummi.

9. *Obv.*—Similar.

Rev.—Within wreath $\begin{matrix}\text{DNB}\\\text{ADV}\\\text{ILA}\\\text{REX}\end{matrix}$; on ribbon of wreath, X.

Æ. ·75. Wt. 7·4 grammes *circ.* B.M.; Friedlander.

Piece of Five Nummi?

Same Type.

Æ. ·7. Wt. 4·3 grammes *circ.* B.M.

Nummi or Minimi.

11. *Obv.*—. . . . ADVI. Same type.

Rev.—Lion walking towards right.

Æ. ·4. B.M.; Friedländer.

12. *Obv.*—$\begin{matrix}\text{DN}\\\text{REX}\end{matrix}$

Rev.—Within wreath, monogram of Baduila different from that on No. 6.

Æ. ·4. Friedländer, Pl. II. 11.

PAVIA.

Piece of Five Nummi.

13. *Obv.*—FELIX TI CINVS. Female bust with mural crown (Ticinius, *i.e.* Pavia) to right.

Rev.—Within palm wreath $\begin{matrix}\text{DN}\\\text{BADV}\\\text{ILA}\\\text{REX}\end{matrix}$

Æ. ·6. Wt. 3 grammes *circ.* B.M.; Friedländer, Pl. II. 7.

THEIA.

SILVER.

(With name of Anastasius I.)

Siliquas.

1. *Obv.*—DN ANAS TASIVS P AG. Draped and diademed bust, to right.[12]

[12] The representation of the armour and the cloak, copied at first from the imperial series, becomes upon these coins gra-

Rev.—Within palm wreath DOM / NVSTH / EIA P / REX

Æ. ·5. Friedländer, Pl. III. 1.

2. *Obv.*—DN ANASTA SIVS PF AG. Same type.

Rev.—Within palm wreath DN / THE / IA / REX

Æ. ·55. Wt. 1·3 gramme, *circ.* B.M.; Friedlander, Pl. III. 2.

3. *Obv.*—DN ANASTA SIVS AVG.

Rev.—Within palm wreath DN / THIL / AREX

Æ. ·6. Wt. 1·3 gramme, *circ.* B.M.; Friedlander, Pl. III. 3. (Pl. II. 22.)

OSTROGOTHIC COPPER.

(Without name of king.)

ROME.

Type 1.

Piece of Forty Nummi.

1. *Obv.*—INVICT A ROMA. Bust of Rome to right.

Rev.—Wolf suckling twins; above, XL; in exergue, date (·II· ·III· ·IIII· ·IV· or ·V·)

Æ. 1. B.M.; Friedlander.

Piece of Twenty Nummi.

2. *Obv.*—Same.

Rev.—Same; above, ✳Ꝛ✳; in exergue, XX.

Æ. ·8. B.M.; Friedlander.

Type 2.

Piece of Forty Nummi.

3. *Obv.*—Same.

Rev.—Eagle with wings spread looking backwards; beside XL; in ex., date (·T· ·Δ· ·Θ· or ·Ɔ·).

Æ. 1·1. B.M.; Friedlander.

dually more and more indistinct, till they are no longer separable.

Type 3.

Piece of Twenty Nummi.

4. *Obv.*—Same.

Rev.—Tree, on either side of which, eagle looking backwards towards it; in exergue, ·XX·

Æ. ·85. B.M.; Friedlander.

RAVENNA.

Pieces of Ten.

Type 1.

5. *Obv.*—FELIX R AVENNA. Female bust with mural crown (Ravenna) to right.

Rev.—Within wreath, monogram of Ravenna; on band of wreath, X.

Æ. ·65. B.M.; Friedlander.

Type 2.

6. *Obv.*—Same.

Rev.—Eagle on thunderbolt; on either side, star of six points; in exergue, X.

Æ. ·65. B.M.; Friedländer, Pl. III. 1.

Type 3.

7. *Obv.*—Same.

Rev.—Victory walking towards left, holding wreath and palm branch; on either side, R V.

Æ. ·6. Friedländer, Pl. III.

Type 4.

8. *Obv.*—INVICTA ROMA. Same type as No. 1.

Rev.—Same as reverse of No. 5.

Æ. ·6. Friedländer, Pl. III.

The coins were struck by Rome and Ravenna to some extent independently of the Ostrogothic kings.

Uncertain Ostrogothic Silver.

There are certain silver coins which have the names of Anastasius I. and Justinian I. upon the obverse, and on the reverse a monogram which seems to read Teudaricus. They differ from the monograms upon coins of this prince, and the name of Justinian, who did not ascend the throne until after the death of Theodoric, makes it impossible that they could have been struck by him. It is by no means impossible, however, that the monogram of so great a name might have been used after the death of its owner.

(With name of Anastasius I.)

1. *Obv.*—CNANA ITAIIVS. Draped and diademed bust to right.

 Rev.—Within palm-wreath, monogram as in Friedländer, Pl. III. 1, b.

 Æ. ·4. B.M.

(With name of Justinian I.)

2. Similar type, but D N IVSTIN IAN PP AVG.

 Æ. ·45. B.M.; Friedlander, Pl. III. 1, b.

3. Similar; monogram slightly varied.

 Æ. ·5. Friedlander, Pl. III. 1, c.

4. Similar; monogram varied.

 Æ. ·5. Friedlander, Pl. III. 1, a.

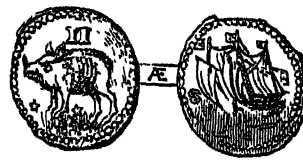
It will be seen from the above coins, bearing in mind what has been already said in discussing the Vandal series, that the money is struck in close relationship with that which was current in the Eastern Empire. The solidus was, of course, the standard of value in every case.

The silver coin corresponded to the Byzantine siliqua, and doubtless passed current for 250 nummi, not being, like the Vandal silver coins, marked as the multiple of some other denomination. The copper coins were not marked XLII and XXI, like the Vandal copper, but XL and XX, like that of the Empire.

What then do we learn from an examination of the series of the Vandalic and Ostrogothic coins? Evidently that the countries in which they were struck did not undergo the slow disintegrating process which abolished the civilisation and trade of Gaul and Spain, and by doing so did away with a regular coinage of all denominations. Whatever we may read of the barbarous depredations of the Vandals, it is clear that the people of Africa retained most of their old ways of living together with a close intercourse with the Eastern Empire. The same was the case in Italy. Here, perhaps, the barbaric invasion was of an even less destructive character, for among the Ostrogothic rulers of Italy we count men softened by the influence of religion and culture—such men as Theodoric and Baduila.

C. F. Keary.

(*To be continued.*)



VIII.

ON A NEW PIECE OF BERMUDA HOG MONEY OF THE VALUE OF TWOPENCE.

I GAVE in a former number of the Chronicle (vol. xvi. p. 153) some account of two pieces of Hog Money of the value of xii*d.* and vi*d.* respectively, and was not then aware that any other piece existed. Shortly, however, before leaving Bermuda in 1877 a coloured native brought me the specimen figured in the annexed woodcut, which is of the value of ii*d.*, and is entirely new. All that I could collect from him was that a child playing on the south shore of the island, not far from Port Royal, had picked it up on the beach, apparently washed up. It is in very fair preservation, and the figure of the hog very spirited.

Obv.—Figure of a hog under the numeral II., with no legend.

Rev.—A ship with three masts, flying the cross of St. George at each mast-head.

The researches of the Historical MS. Commission have brought to light a very interesting document among what were formerly known as the Yelverton MSS., now in Lord Calthorpe's possession, consisting of the proceedings of a commission of sixteen merchants and others appointed

by the Lords of the Council, under date 10th May, 1607, to report to his Majesty—

"Ffirst of the Inconveniences w^{ch} befall to this kingdome, w^{n} our moneyes are undervalued by other nations, and theire moneys overvalued either by publicke authoritie or prouisition (*sic*) amongst the merchants. Secondly what benifit would grow vnto the comonwealth by the reformacion thereof, if according vnto justice and equitie the price of exchange were ruled according to true value for value or *par pro pari*, the waighte and finenesse of money beinge proportionably considered."

The result is a series of valuable reports and inclosures, some of them dated October, 1611, and July, 1612, the latter bearing the signatures of Tho. Parry and Fra. Bacon, which, by the very obliging liberality of Lord Calthorpe, I have been permitted to peruse. As might, perhaps, have been expected, there is no reference made in them to the license given to the Virginia Company in 1612 to provide a currency for their plantation—a precedent extended in 1615 to the Bermuda Company; but they disclose in a striking manner the condition of things which made such a concession indispensable. The stringency of the laws then in force against the exportation of coin from the realm was such that it would appear to have been impossible otherwise to have furnished the young plantations with necessary currency; and its scarcity, due to causes which are carefully investigated, had created great and well-founded alarm. Of these causes a falling-off in the quantity of silver brought to the Mint for conversion into coin is one of the principal. In the last seven years of the reign of Elizabeth the quantity of silver coined amounted in value to £844,433, and in seven years (1611—1617) of James I. to no more

than £57,689; the gold coined in the same periods being respectively of the values of £104,280 and £1,546,309.[1] This falling-off in silver is traced not to any diminution in the quantity of the metal brought into the kingdom, but to the high royalty charged on coinage—30*s.* per lb. weight of gold, 2*s.* 6*d.* per lb. weight of silver; to the immense consumption of the precious metals for purposes of luxury; and to the payment for foreign commodities in coin of a fineness somewhat superior to that of other countries, which was thus continually drained out of the realm. It was in vain that the export of coin had been for a long period made felony, and was even then attended with the forfeiture of double its value. The reports show in a most instructive manner how the instinct of trade defies and evades restrictions; and while they fail to propose remedies which stand the test of modern commercial experience, they are exceedingly interesting in the proof they afford that the principles of political economy were even thus early in our history forcing their way to recognition, and exacting penalties for disobedience. It would be foreign to the present communication to enlarge on this subject, but I may be permitted to express the hope that the document may some day be published.

J. H. Lefroy.

[1] From April, 1617, to Feb., 1620, silver money was coined only to the amount of £1,070 15*s.* 4*d.* (Hawkins, 1841, p. 159). The scarcity of the metal began to be relieved in 1621 by the working of the Welsh mines (*id.*).

IX.

CHRISTIAN EMBLEMS ON THE COINS OF CONSTANTINE I. THE GREAT, HIS FAMILY, AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

(*Continued.*)

§ XXVI. COINS OF THE EMPIRE OF THE EAST FROM THE TIME OF ANASTASIUS (491) TO THE TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY MAHOMET II. (1453).[a]

The true Byzantine type of coinage commences under Anastasius (491—518), who instituted a monetary reform. During his reign, as well as during that of Justin I. (518—527), the types of the gold and silver coins are principally the usual Victory holding a globe on which is a cross; or else a large cross, or a staff surmounted by the ✻; whilst the ✻, ✠, or ✳, are of frequent occurrence. The A ✠ Ω, or ✻ ✠ ✳, may be found on the small silver coins of Justin I. (Sabatier, "Mon. Byz.," Pl. IX. Nos. 25, 26), types also appearing on those of Justinian I. (British Museum, **Pl. VI. No. 1**; Sab., Pl. XII. Nos. 15, 12; Cf. A † ω on Æ. Pl. XVII. Nos. 36—38), and

[a] I have to record my best thanks to Professor Churchill Babington, who not only volunteered to read the proofs of this section, but who has greatly assisted me with many valuable suggestions.

of Mauricius Tiberius with A † Ω (Pl. XXIV., No. 14). The copper coinage now, for the first time, bears an *index* of its value which generally occupies the whole of the field, almost always accompanied by crosses. For examples bearing *index* values M, K, I, V, or Є, see Sab., Pl. IX. Nos. 3—19 (Anastasius). Some specimens (bearing *index* M) show the Emperor Justin I. wearing the ✠ on his breast (Pl. X. No. 1), or the † on his head (No. 2).

In 527, Justinian was associated to the Empire by his uncle Justin, and coins were struck of gold and copper bearing both their portraits. On a very rare copper piece formerly in the collection of Mr. de Salis, and now in the British Museum, the word VITA appears for the first time (Pl. VI. No. 2; Sab., Pl. XI. No. 22), a form employed afterwards by Justin II. and Sophia (Pl. XXI. Nos. 10, 12, 13), and by Mauricius Tiberius (Pl. XXIV. No. 20), signifying, according to the Baron Marchant and M. de Saulcy, *Sit longa* VITA !, but which the Abbé Martigny[1] thinks, as the word is not found except on coins where the cross is placed between the two heads, may refer to the sign of the cross as the source of true life. There are, however, apparently no traces of a cross between the heads of Justin and Justinian. In favour of the first interpretation, M. Sabatier mentions[2] the words VINCAS or NIKA on the contorniates, and the letters N*e* PЄ*reat!* on the coins of Focas and Leontia (Pl. XXVII. No. 26),[2a] as also the letters P. A. MЧL. or

[1] "Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.," p. 464.

[2] "Mon. Byz.," vol. i. p. 170.

[2a] Professor Babington considers that it is impossible that N. PЄ (occurring between D. N. FOCAS and P. AVG.) can be so explained. PЄ is certainly for PЄ*rpetuus*. PЄRP. occurs on several coins of Focas (Sab., Pl. XXVII. 7, 16). N. seems to be for N*oster;* the remaining P. will stand for P*ius*.

P. A. MVL. on the coins of Theodosius III., Leo the Isaurian, and Constantine V. and Leo IV. (Pl. XXXIX., XL.), these being interpreted **P***er* **A***nnos* **MVL***tos* [*vivat* understood], but Mr. de Salis, who states that the legend **MVLTVS** or **MVLTVS ANNIS** occurs for the first time on the coins of Justinian II. without the letters **PA**, considered[3] that these letters signified **PA***tēr* or **P***atēr* **A***ugusti*, as on the coins of Leo IV. and Constantine VI., where Leo III. and Constantine V. are called **PAP***pos* and **PAƮHP** (Sab., Pl. XLI. No. 2), an opinion that seems to have been adopted by M. Sabatier in other parts of his work.[4] It may, however, be noted that Cavedoni preferred to interpret the letters **P. A. MЧL.** or **MVL.** as the initials of the words **P***erpetuus* **A***ugustus* **MVL***toties* or **MVL***timodis*; but it is doubtful if this interpretation is correct.[5]

On the death of his uncle Justin, Justinian I. succeeded to the throne (527—565), and in about his twelfth year introduced his portrait full-face on the copper coinage, adding the word **ANNO** together with a number marking the year of his reign (Sab., Pl. XIII. No. 13). The ☧ (reversed) may also be seen on the breast of this Emperor (British Museum, **Pl. VI. No. 3**; cf. Sab., Pl. XII. No. 22), set as it seems on a plate surrounded by gems, and the form ✳ occupies the whole of the reverse of some of the small brass coins (Pl. XVII. Nos. 2, 9).

The coins of the Ostrogoths in Italy, commencing at the overthrow of Romulus Augustus (476—553), which generally bear the portraits of Anastasius, Justin I., and

[3] "Rev. Num.," 1859, p. 441.

[4] "Mon. Byz.," vol. i. p. 74; vol. ii. p. 46.

[5] "Rev. Num.," 1859, p. 399; cf. Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 228.

Justinian I., and many of which carry on the farcical legend of **INVICTA ROMA,** and the coins of the Vandals in Africa (428—534), do not require any special allusion in connection with the present subject.

The reign of Justin II. (565—578), with the exception of the pieces of himself and his wife Sophia, with the inscription **VITA**, to which I have already alluded, offers no new type.

Under his successor, Tiberius II. Constantine (578—582), the cross is placed on four steps (British Museum, **Pl. VI. No. 4**; Sab., Pl. XXII. No. 13), or on a circle (British Museum, **Pl. VI. No. 5**; Sab., Pl. XXII. No. 17), or a globe (No. 18), types that become especially common under Heraclius, whilst on some of his coins he is represented holding the *volumen* and a sceptre surmounted by an eagle, above which a cross (Sab., Pl. XXII. 15; XXIII. 1, 2, 13), a type occurring on the coins of his successor, Mauricius Tiberius (582—602), who also struck a very rare *solidus* (of which Sabatier gives a woodcut, vol. i. p. 238), representing himself holding the *volumen* and a long cross, and Victory holding a long sceptre surmounted by ☩ and a cross on a globe.[6] Sometimes the Emperor himself carries a long cross or the ☩ (Sab., Pl. XXVI. Nos. 21—26). The coins of Focas (602—610) are of a similar type.

Heraclius (610—641), who issued coins of himself and sons Heraclius Constantine, and Heracleonas, with the title of *Consul*, an office that was not definitely abolished till the reign of Leo VI. (886—912),[7] produced the

[6] See § XXV. B. *The East*, for a coin of Leo I. (Sab., Pl. VI. No. 19).

[7] Barthélemy, "Rev. Num.," 1857, p. 256. On some of the brass coins of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine, instead

legend **DЄVS ADIVTA ROMANIS** on his silver coins (British Museum, **Pl. VI. No. 6**; Sab., Pl. XXIX. No. 23), a legend which continues on the coins of his successors down to the time of Justinian II. (685). Some of his copper coins present an entirely new feature, in that the legend is completely *Greek*, instead of the curious mixture of Greek and Latin, and reverts to the Constantinian legend — **ЄN TꝺTO NIKA** (**Pl. VI. No. 7**; Sab., Pl. XXVIII. No. 26), which appears in the form **Єh ƚOVƚω hICAƚ.** or **hICAƚЄ** on the coins of Basil II. and Constantine XI. (976—1025; Sab., Pl. XLVIII. Nos. 15, 16), and **ЄN TOVTω NIKATЄ** on those of Michael VII. and Maria (1071—1078; Sab., Pl. LI. No. 11).

The late Dr. Finlay has suggested[8] that the copper coins of rude fabric with the **ЄN TꝺTO NIKA** legend were probably coined by Heraclius for the use of the troops and the provincials during his Persian campaigns, in which theory, with the exception of the words "rude fabric"—as these coins are no ruder in general workmanship than the rest of the copper currency of the period—the Hon. J. L. Warren agrees, adding that the idea "deserves a conspicuous place among the theories propounded on the origin of this type," and "that such a

of the usual ✝ above the index **M**, there occurs the monogram ✳ (Sab., Pl. XXX. Nos. 1, 2). On a very small silver coin of Heraclius (Sab., Pl. XXVIII. No. 23), the reverse type is ✝ **R M**. The letters **R M** have been interpreted by M. de ✳ Saulcy ("Essai de Class. des Mon. Byz.," p. 58) as perhaps *Reparator mundi*, but M. Sabatier ("Mon. Byz.," vol. i. p. 269) has suggested *Roma*. The same type appears on the small silver coins of Constans II. (Sab., Pl. XXXII. No. 14).

[8] "Greece under the Romans," 2nd ed., 1857, p. 544.

type would be peculiarly appropriate in a war against the crescent and the infidels, thus re-adopting the *labarum* motto—translated, however, and thereby showing how essentially Greek the Empire had become."[9] The same type was continued by his son Constans (641—668); and an interesting account of some coins of this Emperor and his sons discovered in the Island of Cyprus has been written by Mr. Warren.[10]

Under Constantine V. Copronymus and his son Leo IV. (751—775), *the hand descending from Heaven* occurs on the gold coinage (British Museum, **Pl. VI. No. 8**; Sab., Pl. XL. No. 22). The hand blessing is also produced on the coins of John I. Zimisces (Pl. XLVII. No. 17) [see our **Pl. VIII. No. 6**], Michael IV. (Pl. XLIX. No. 3), Michael VI. (Pl. XLIX. No. 16), Alexius I. Comnenus (Pl. LII. No. 2), John II. Comnenus (Pl. LIII. No. 19), Manuel I. Comnenus (Pl. LV. Nos. 3, 4, 8), Isaac II. Angelus (Pl. LVII. Nos. 15, 19, 20), John VIII. Palæologus (Pl. LXIV. No. 2), and on those of the Emperors of Trebizond (Pl. LXVII—LXIX).[11] During the reign

[9] "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1861, p. 229.

[10] "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1861, p. 42.

[11] The *Greek* benediction consisted mainly of the thumb touching the tip of the ring-finger, while the forefinger, the middle and the little finger are erected, in which some see the intention to figure the letters **A** and **ω**. According to some the erect forefinger with the curved middle finger made **IC** (*i.e.*, Ἰησοῦς), while the crossing of the thumb and ring-finger, and the curving of the little finger made **XC** (*i.e.*, Χριστός). According to others, the thumb and ring-finger crossed made **X**, the other fingers erect, with the fore and middle fingers slightly separated, were supposed to represent *ν*, I, the whole standing for Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾶ. In the *Latin* benediction the thumb, the forefinger, and the middle finger are erected, while the other two are doubled down on the palm of the hand, and the hand of our Lord is thus represented on some monuments where He is performing a miracle (Rev. R.

of Constantine V. Copronymus and Leo IV. the legend **IhSЧS XRISTЧS NICA** first appears round a *cross* on the silver coins (British Museum, **Pl. VI. No. 9**; Sab., Pl. XL. No. 25), though on copper coins with the effigies of Leo III. (dead), Constantine V. and Leo IV. (Sab., Pl. XL. No. 17), of Leo IV. and Constantine VI. (Pl. XLI. No. 5), of Constantine VI. and Irene (Pl. XLI. Nos. 8, 11), the letters **X—N** for **X***ristus* **N***ica* may be found, whilst the full legend occurs on their silver. Sometimes the letters are triplicated as on coins of Irene: **X—N / X—N / X—N** (Pl. XLI. No. 13; see Sab. *passim*). Nicephorus I. Logothetes (802—811), however, struck the full legend on a *gold* coin (Sab., Pl. XLI. No. 14), and it may be generally found on the *silver* till the reign of John I. Zimisces (969—976),[12] when the face of the Emperor is represented within a circle (on the middle of a large cross) surrounded by the letters **I A / ω h** (British Museum, **Pl. VI. No. 10**; Sab., Pl. XLVII. No. 19). On some of his brass coins (Sab., Pl. XLVIII. No. 6), and on those of Alexius I. Comnenus (1081—1118; Pl. LII. Nos. 18,

Sinker, in Smith and Cheetham, "Dict. of Christ. Antiq.," vol. i. p. 199; Martigny, "Dict. des Antiq. Chrét., *s. v.* Bénir (Manière de); cf. Sab., "Mon. Byz.," vol. i. p. 29). The hand from heaven, between the letters **A** and **ω**, was adopted on some of the pennies of Æthelred II. (978—1016; Ruding, XXII. 13; Hawkins, "Silver Coins of England," p. 67, Pl. XVI. No. 206).

[12] It was on the coins of this type of Michael I. Rhangabe (811—818; Sab., Pl. XLII. No. 8), that the words **bASILIS ROmAIOh** were first introduced—'a sad acknowledgment of the existence of a rival *Romanorum Imperator*' ("Saturday Review," June 1st, 1861), and not much improved by the addition of the epithet **mЄqAS**, as on the coins of Michael III. (Sab., Pl. XLIV. No. 13).

19), and on those of Andronicus IV. Palæologus (1371—1373; Pl. LXIII. No. 1), the legend is IC | XC / NI | KA.[13]

During the reign of Justinian II. (685—695), who had been deposed on account of his cruelties in 695, and banished to the Chersonese by Leontius with his nose cut off, and hence his name of *Rhinotmetus* (Ῥινότμητος), but who was restored to the throne, together with his son, Tiberius, in 705, many innovations were introduced, the most notable of which is *the bust of Christ holding the Gospels* and giving the benediction with the legend dN. IhS. ChS. REX REGNANTIЧM, and the title of SERЧ. ChRISTI (*servus Christi*), adopted by the Emperor.[14] On some of the coins the Emperor holds a globe (on which is the word PAX), surmounted by a cross (British Museum, Pl. VI. No. 11; Sab., Pl. XXXVII. No. 2). The legend dN IhS. ChS. REX REGNANTIЧM is generally found on the *gold* coins, but it sometimes occurs on the *silver* and *copper* (Sab., Pl. XXXVII. No.

[13] The wafer employed by the Greek church is round, and the usual stamp on it is IHC | XC / NI | KA ("The Greek and Eastern Churches," p. 96, Relig. Tract Soc.). Alexius I. Comnenus was the first emperor who was really Greek, and Latin after his accession never again appears on the coins of the Roman Empire, so that its transformation into the Byzantine monarchy was then complete (Finlay, "Greece under the Romans," p. 545). The reverse legend of these coins is ЄЄP. CVhЄPГЄI BACIΛЄI ΛΛЄXIW, Σώτερ συνέργει βασιλεῖ Ἀλεξίῳ, *Saviour, help the King Alexius.* It may be compared with the legend DEVS ADIVTA ROmANIS, introduced by Heraclius.

[14] On the coins of Theophilus (829—842) the legend becomes ΘЄOFILOS ЄЧLOS XRISTЧS PISTOS Єh AVTO bASILЄЧ ROmAIOh (Sab., Pl. XLIII. No. 10; cf. Pl. LXX. No. 22).

11; XXXVIII. Nos. 9, 12), and it is always accompanied by the type of *Christ* represented in the four following ways:—

A. *No letters in the field.*—(1) *Bust of Christ* (*without nimbus*) *facing on a cross* on the coins of Justinian II. Rhinotmetus (685—695; British Museum, **Pl. VI. No. 11**; Sab., Pl. XXXVII. Nos. 2, 11), and on his coins, and those of his son Tiberius IV., after his restoration (705—711; Sab., Pl. XXXVIII. Nos. 9, 12). During the reigns of Leo III. the Isaurian[15] (716—741), the first of the Iconoclasts, of Constantine V. Copronymus (741—775), of Artavasdes and his son Nicephorus, usurpers (742—743), of Leo IV. Charazes, son of Constantine V. (775—780), of his brother Constantine VI. (780—797), and of their mother Irene (797—802), all images of Christ, of the Virgin and of the Saints were abolished, though the legend **IhSЧS XRISTЧS NICA** without any image, as I have above stated, was introduced during the reign of Constantine V. Copronymus, and his son Leo IV. (751—775; British Museum, **Pl. VI., No. 9**). The bust of Christ facing on a cross was reproduced on the coins of Michael I. Rhangabe (811—813; Sab., Pl. XLII. No. 1), and, after another interval of about thirty years, on those of Michael III. and his mother Theodora (842—856; Sab., Pl. XLIV. No. 7), and on the coins of Michael III. when reigning alone (856—866; Sab., Pl. XLIV. No. 12), but with the legend **IhSЧS XRISTЬOS** ✳. On a brass coin of Michael VII. Ducas

[15] Under Theodosius III. Adramyttenus, who only reigned one year (716), some small silver coins were struck with the legend **AMЄ—NITA—SDЄI** in three lines (Sab., Pl. XXXIX. No. 3), *Amoenitas Dei*, the loving-kindness (*i.e.* the grace) of God (by which he reigned). See *note* 19.

(1071—1078; Sab., Pl. LI. No. 8) the bust of Christ on the cross occurs *between two stars* but *without any legend.*

(2) *Bust of Christ facing on a cross with nimbus* from the reign of Constantine X. and Romanus II. (948—959; British Museum, **Pl. VI. No. 12**; Sab., Pl. XLVI. No. 18), to that of Isaac I. Comnenus (1057—1059; Sab., Pl. L. No. 1) inclusive. [Cf. Sab., Pl. XLVII. Nos. 10, 11, 12, 17 (see our **Pl. VIII. No. 6**; *Types of Virgin (j)*); Pl. XLVIII.[16] Nos. 10, 19, 20; Pl. XLIX. Nos. 3, 5.]

The *nimbus* is generally adorned with gems.

(3) *Christ with nimbus cruciger seated facing, sometimes holding the right hand raised,*[17] from the reign of Basil I. and Constantine IX. (869—870; British Museum, **Pl. VII. No. 1**; Sab., Pl. XLIV. No. 22) to that of Manuel I. Comnenus (1143—1180; Pl. LVI. No. 3). [Cf. Sab., Pl. XLVI. Nos. 1, 3, 4, 6, 12; XLIX. Nos. 2, 4, 16, 17; L. Nos. 2, 6, 10.]

It was on the coins of this type (Sab., Pl. XLIX. No. 17) that Isaac I. Comnenus changed the type of the gold coinage of the Empire, and impressed on it his own figure with a drawn sword in his right hand, thereby, as the Byzantine writers pretend, ascribing his elevation to

[16] Concave pieces, called *nummi scyphati*, began to appear under Basil II. and Constantine XI. (976—1025), but they did not become the prevailing type of the gold, silver, and copper coinage until the end of the eleventh century (Finlay, "Greece under the Romans," p. 543). Mr. King observes ("Early Christ. Num.," p. 77) that "It is a laughable circumstance as proving the superior veneration entertained by even the most superstitious of men for the earthly over the heavenly sovereign, that it is always the Emperor who enjoys the benefit of the shelter of the concave side, the Divine likeness having to bear the brunt of circulation upon the convex part."

[17] See *note* 11.

the throne, not to the grace of God, but to his own courage.[17a]

(4) *Christ with nimbus cruciger standing facing* on the coins of Theodora (1055—1056; British Museum, **Pl. VII. No. 2**; Sab., Pl. XLIX. No. 13; see *Types of Virgin* (*j*)).

A coin of Romanus I., Constantine X., and Christophorus (920—944) represents *Christ with the cross at the back of His Head* standing crowning the Emperor Romanus (British Museum, **Pl. VII. No. 3**; Sab., Pl. XLVI. No. 10.)

The type of Christ also occurs in the following various ways accompanied by the letters **IC—XC** (Ἰησοῦς Χριστός).

B. *Letters* **IC—XC** *in the field.* (5) *Bust of Christ facing on a cross with nimbus.* This type first appears on the brass coins of John I. Zimisces (969—976; Sab., Pl. XLVIII. Nos. 7, 8), but in some cases with the addition of the word **EMMANOVHΛ**, and on the reverse the legend **+IhSЧS XRISTЧS bASILEЧ bASILE.** (British Museum, **Pl. VII. No. 4**; cf. Sab., Pl. XLVIII. Nos. 3, 5, 6). The attribution of these anonymous pieces to John Zimisces is founded on a passage of Scylitzes and Cedrenus, where it is said that "the Emperor ordered to be placed upon the coins the image of the Saviour, which had not been done before; and on the other side *Latin* letters forming the sentence **IESVS CHRISTVS REX REGVM**,"[18] but this account can only refer to these *copper* coins, as the bust of Christ occurs on coins of all three

[17a] Finlay, "Hist. of Byz. and Greek Empires," vol. ii. p. 12.

[18] Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 250; Sab., vol. ii. p. 143.

metals of an earlier date. [See above, (1)]. It is sometimes connected with the legend $\frac{\text{IC} \mid \text{XC}}{\text{NI} \mid \text{KA}}$ (Sab., Pl. XLVIII. No. 6); or $\frac{\text{IC}}{\text{NI+KA}}$ $\frac{}{\text{XC}}$ (Sab., Pl. LVIII. No. 18), a form, as I have previously stated, occurring on the coins of Alexius I. Comnenus (Pl. LII. No. 18), and the legend may also be found on the copper coins of Romanus IV. Diogenes (1067—1070), but here, surrounding the bust of Christ represented *without the cross or the nimbus*, and with three globules on either side of His Head. (British Museum, **Pl. VII. No. 5**; Sab., Pl. LI. No. 3.)

The type continues from the time of Theodora (1055—1056; Sab., Pl. XLIX. No. 14) to that of John VIII. Palæologus (1423—1448; Pl. LXIV. No. 1), and on some of his coins (Pl. LXIII. Nos. 19, 20) as well as on those of his predecessor, Manuel II. (1391—1423; Pl. LXIII. Nos. 7, 9, 10), the bust is surrounded by *stars* or *crosses*.[19] [Cf. Sab., Pl. L. No. 8; LI. Nos. 1, 13, 14; LII. Nos. 5, 6, 15 (1081—1118; *only a cross*); LIII. Nos. 1, 7; LIV. Nos. 7, 17; LV. Nos. 8 (**ЄMMANϒHΛ**), 9; LVI. No. 6; LVIII. Nos. 1 (**O EMMANϒHΛ**), 7, 13 (**IC—XC** illegible), 15; 18, 19 (1204—1261; *only a cross*);[20] LIX. No. 8; LX. No. 20; cf. LXII.

[19] On the coins of Manuel, if Sabatier's plates can be trusted —the similar coins in the British Museum being in too poor preservation to read—the legends (in two circles) are **MANO-VHΛ AVTωKRATωP +V(*sic*)XAPITI O ΠAΛЄO-ΛOГ** or **V(*sic*)XPITI(*sic*) ΔЄCΠOTЄV TωN PO-MЄωN**, whilst on those of John VIII. there are clearly **Iω. ΔЄCΠOTHC O ΠAΛЄOΛOГOC—+ ΘV. XA-PITI BACIΛЄC Tω. PωMЄωN**—"By the grace of God, King of the Romans," the Greek equivalent of *Dei gratiâ* on our own money. See *note* 15.

[20] Nos. 18 and 19 are anonymous coins attributed to the

No. 6 (with legend + KVPIЄ CωCЄN [? CωCON-TЯC BACIΛЄIC); LXI. No. 16; LXIII. Nos. 5, 8, 11, 12.] It may also be seen on some of the coins of the Emperors of Nicæa and Thessalonica (Sab., Pl. LXV., LXVI.). It is sometimes accompanied by the legend KЄ. ROHΘЄI for Κύριε BOHΘЄI, *Help us, O Lord,* as on the coins of Alexius I. Comnenus (Sab., Pl. LIII. No. 10), and of Manuel I. Comnenus (Pl. LV. Nos. 5, 10; LVI. No. 5).

(6) *Christ with nimbus cruciger seated facing sometimes holding the right hand raised,*[21] on a brass coin of John I. Zimisces (969—976; Sab., Pl. XLVIII. No. 4), having on the reverse the legend + IS XC bASILЄ bASILI; on a very rare coin of Constantine XIII. Ducas and Eudocia (1059—1067; Sab., Pl. L. No. 9), on a gold coin of Michael VII. Ducas (1071—1078; British Museum, **Pl. VII. No. 6**; Sab., Pl. LI. No. 4), and from this time to that of Andronicus IV. Palæologus (1371—1373; Sab., Pl. LXII. Nos. 19, 21). [Cf. Sab., Pl. LI. Nos. 12, 15, 16; LII. Nos. 3, 13; LIII. Nos. 3, 12, 17; (See our **Pl. VIII. No. 8**); LIV. Nos. 8, 16; LV. No. 12; LVI. Nos. 1, 2; LVIII. No. 6; LIX. Nos. 1, 9;[22] LXI. No. 10.] The type may also be seen on some of the coins of the Emperors of Nicæa and Thessalonica (Sab., Pl. LXIV—LXVII).[23] The words KЄ.

Latin Emperors of Constantinople. On the reverse of No. 19 there is represented the *cross above the crescent,* whilst two crescents are in the field above the bust of Christ on the obverse. See *note* 22.

[21] See *note* 11.

[22] LIX. No. 1, is a coin of the Latin Emperors of Constantinople. It has the type of the *cross on the crescent.* See *note* 20.

[23] On a silver coin of Theodore III. Vatatses Ducas Lascaris (1255—1259; Sab., Pl. LXV. No. 5), there occurs the legend $\overline{\text{IC}}$—$\overline{\text{XC}}$ / IC—AK interpreted by Baron Marchant ("Lettre," XXIV.,

ROHΘЄI are sometimes added on the coins of Alexius I. Comnenus (Sab., Pl. LII. No. 2), John II. Comnenus (Pl. LIII. No. 11), whilst on some of Andronicus II. Palæologus and Andronicus III. (1325—1328), the legend is in full **KVPIЄ BOHΘЄI** (Sab., Pl. LXI. Nos. 14, 15).

On some of the coins of Michael VIII. Palæologus (1261—1282; Sab., Pl. LIX. Nos. 3 [See our **Pl. VIII. No. 1**; *Types of Virgin* (*d*)] to 6) *Christ with nimbus cruciger or nimbus is seated blessing the kneeling Emperor*, who is generally accompanied by the Archangel Michael.

(7) *Christ with nimbus cruciger standing facing* on the coins of Nicephorus III. Botaniates (1078—1081) with the obverse legend **C. Φ. N. Δ.** (Κύριε φύλασσε Νικηφόρον Δεσπότην, *O Lord, guard the despot Nicephorus*; Sab., Pl. LI. No. 18), [cf. the *surfrappe* LIX. No. 2], of Alexius I. Comnenus (1081—1118; Sab., Pl. LII. Nos. 16, 17 [with **KЄ. ROHΘЄI**], 20), of Manuel I. Comnenus (1143—1180; British Museum, **Pl. VII. No. 7**; Sab., Pl. LV. No. 2), and of the Emperors of Trebizond (Sab., Pl. LXVIII. No. 14). He is sometimes represented *standing with nimbus cruciger or nimbus crowning or blessing the Emperor or Emperors*, as on the coins of Michael VII. Ducas (1071—1078; Sab., Pl. LI. No. 5), John II. Comnenus (1118—1143; Sab., Pl. LIII. No.

pp. 355, 356), Ἰησοῦς Χριστὲ [? Χριστὸς] ἰσχυροῖ Λάσκαριν, *may Jesus Christ strengthen Lascaris*, and adopted by De Saulcy ("Essai de Class. des Suites Mon. Byz.," p. 398), and Sabatier ("Mon. Byz.," vol. ii. p. 296), but which may perhaps be Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ἰσχύρου Λάσκαριν, *O Jesus Christ, strengthen thou Lascaris*. Professor Babington, however, thinks that **IC—XC** is for Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, standing as the explanation of the figure. Cf. Sab., vol. ii. p. 190, No. 19; Pl. LII. No. 17, **IC—XC O KЄ. ROHΘЄI**, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. ὦ Κύριε βοήθει. **XЄ** is the abbreviation of **XριστЄ**, and not **XC** (see our **Pl. VII. No. 3**).

18), Andronicus I. Comnenus (1182—1185; Sab., Pl. LVII. Nos. 4, 5, 11), Andronicus II. Palæologus (1282—1328—*the Emperor in prostration before Christ;* Sab., Pl. LX. Nos. 1—5), Andronicus II. and his son Michael IX. (1294—1320; Sab., Pl. LX. Nos. 13, 14; LXI. Nos. 7, 9), Andronicus II., his wife Irene and grandson Andronicus III. (1325—1328; Sab., Pl. LXI. No. 13), and on some of the coins of the Emperors of Nicæa and Thessalonica (Sab., Pl. LXIV, LXVII.).

Some coins of Alexius I. Comnenus, but attributed by the late Mr. de Salis to Manuel (British Museum, **Pl. VII. No. 8**; Sab., Pl. LII. No. 22), and Manuel I. Comnenus (Pl. LVI. No. 8) have the type of a *six-rayed cross* on three steps between the letters **IC—XC**. [Cf. Sab., Pl. LVIII. No. 14.]

The *Virgin Mary* is also frequently represented on the Byzantine Coinage in various postures, generally veiled, and accompanied by the letters **MP—ΘV** (Μήτηρ Θεοῦ).

(*a*) *Bust of Virgin veiled facing and hands raised* on a gold coin of Leo VI. (886—912; Cab. des Méd., Paris; **Pl. VII. No. 9**; Sab., Pl. XLV. No. 11). Here we have the name **+MARIA+** as well as the letters **MR—Θϒ**.

(*b*) *Bust of Virgin with nimbus facing and hands raised* first occurs on the brass coins of Theophano (963; Sab., Pl. XLVII. No. 9), and of John I. Zimisces (969—976; Sab., Pl. XLVIII. No. 9), and may be found on the coins of many Emperors down to the time of Andronicus II. and Michael IX. (1294—1320; Sab., Pl. LXI. No. 5). [Cf. Sab., Pl. XLIX. Nos. 12 (see our **Pl. VII. No. 10**), 15; L. No. 5; LI. No. 2; LIII. No. 19; LIV. No. 9; LVII. Nos. 1, 8; LVIII. No. 3; LIX. No. 16].

(*c*) *Bust of Virgin with nimbus facing holding a medal-*

lion of Christ on her chest, from the time of John I. Zimisces (969—976; Cab. des Méd., Paris, **Pl. VII. No. 11**; Sab., Pl. XLVII. No. 18) to that of Michael VII. Ducas (1071—1078; Sab., Pl. LI. No. 7), and generally accompanied by the legend **ΘΚЄ. ΒΟΗΘ.** or **ΒΟΗΘЄΙ** (Θεοτόκε, βοήθει, *Mother of God, help us;* Sab., Pl. L. No. 12; LI. No. 9). [Cf. Sab., L. No. 12.] Sometimes the *medallion rests on her chest, whilst the hands of the Virgin are raised,* as on the coins of Nicephorus III. Botaniates (1078—1081; Sab., Pl. LI. No. 17), Alexius I. Comnenus (1081—1118; British Museum, **Pl. VII. No. 12**; cf. Sab., Pl. LII. Nos. 9, 10, 11; No. 21), and John II. Comnenus (1118—1143; Sab., Pl. LIV. No. 14).

(*d*) *Bust of Virgin with turreted nimbus* on the coins of Michael VIII. Palæologus (1261—1282; British Museum, **Pl. VIII. No. 1**; Sab., Pl. LIX. No. 3; see *Types of Christ* (6)), Andronicus II. Palæologus (1282—1328; Sab., Pl. LX. Nos. 1, 4), and Andronicus II. and his son Michael IX. (1294—1320; Sab., Pl. LX. Nos. 13, 14).

(*e*) *Virgin with nimbus seated facing,* on coins of John II. Comnenus (*but with the hands outspread,* 1118—1143; Sab., Pl. LIV. No. 13), Manuel I. Comnenus (1143—1180; Sab., LV. No. 6; LVI. No. 4), and Michael VIII. Palæologus (1261—1282; British Museum, **Pl. VIII. No. 2**; Sab., Pl. LIX. No. 5). Also on coins of the Emperors of Nicæa (Sab., Pl. LXIV—LXVI).

(*f*) *Virgin with nimbus seated facing holding medallion of Christ* from the time of Michael VII. Ducas (1071—1078; Sab., Pl. LI. No. 5) to that of Andronicus II. Palæologus and Michael IX. (1294—1320; Sab., Pl. LX. No. 16. [Cf. Sab., Pl. LII. No. 1; LIII. No. 18; LIV. No. 1; LV. No. 11; LVI. No. 14; LVII. No. 15.] Also

on coins of the Emperors of Trebizond (Sab., Pl. LXVII. Nos. 11, 12).

(*g*) *Virgin with nimbus standing, hands raised and medallion of Christ on her chest,* on the coins of Alexius I. Comnenus (1081—1118; **Pl. VIII. No. 3**; Sab., Pl. LII. Nos. 8, 12), and Andronicus I. Comnenus (1182—1185; Sab., Pl. LVII. No. 4), all with the legend **ΚЄ. ROHΘЄI**, and on coins of Isaac II. Angelus (1185—1195; Sab., Pl. LVII. No. 20; LVIII. No. 5). On some of the coins of Andronicus I. the Virgin is *holding the medallion with both hands* (1182—1185; Sab., Pl. LVII. Nos. 5, 11).

(*h*) *Virgin with nimbus standing on a cushion holding Christ (with nimbus cruciger) in her arms,* on the gold and silver coins of Romanus IV. Diogenes (1067—1070; British Museum, **Pl. VIII. No. 4**; Sab., Pl. L. *R.* No. 15; *N.* No. 14).

(*i*) *Virgin with nimbus standing facing and hands raised* from the time of Constantine XII. Monomachus (1042—1055; British Museum, **Pl. VIII. No. 5**; Sab., Pl. XLIX. No. 11) to that of Alexius I. Comnenus (1081—1118; Sab., Pl. LII. No. 7, *arms folded*). [Cf. Sab., L. No. 7; LI. No. 6, with legend + **ΘΚЄ. ROHΘЄI ΤѠ CѠ ΔOVΛѠ** (Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ,[24] *Mother of God, help thy servant*)]. Sometimes the half-length figure of the Virgin is *side-faced,* as on the coins of Manuel I. Comnenus (1143—1180; Sab., Pl. LVI. Nos. 12, 13).

(*j*) *Virgin with nimbus, full figure, standing crowning or blessing Emperor,* from the time of Romanus III. Argyrus

[24] On the gold coins of Theophilus (829—842; Sab., Pl. XLIII. Nos. 4, 5) the legend is **CVRIЄ ЬOHΘH. ƮO SO SOVΛO** (Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ).

(1028—1034; Sab., Pl. XLIX. No. 2) to that of Manuel I. Comnenus (1143—1180; Sab., Pl. LV. Nos. 7, 12; LVI. Nos. 2, 3). [Cf. Sab., Pl. L. No. 2; LIII. Nos. 11—14; LIV. Nos. 8, 15.] The type may also be seen on the coins of the Emperors of Nicæa (Sab., Pl. LXV. Nos. 2—4). On one coin of John I. Zimisces (969—976; British Museum, **Pl. VIII. No. 6**; Sab., Pl. XLVII. No. 17; see *Types of Christ* (2)) the Virgin is represented *half-length.*

On a gold coin of Nicephorus II. Focas (963—969; British Museum, **Pl. VIII. No. 7**; Sab., Pl. XLVII. No. 12), she is represented *half-length presenting the Emperor with a long cross* which they both hold, a type again appearing on some of the coins of the Emperors of Thessalonica (Sab., Pl. LXVII. No. 1). On another of Theodora, to which I have already alluded (see *Types of Christ* (4); our **Pl. VII. No. 2**), she is standing *full-length with the Empress, both holding the labarum,* and on some coins of Michael VIII. Palæologus (1261—1282; Sab., Pl. LIX. Nos. 10, 11) she is represented *half-length holding the labarum on which* ✝.

On a brass coin of John V. Palæologus (1341—1391; Sab., Pl. LXII. No. 17) she is represented as *shaking hands with the Emperor.*

From these statements it can be gathered that the types of Christ and the Virgin were introduced in the following chronological order:—

DATE.	CHRIST.	THE VIRGIN.
685	Bust facing on cross. [*Types of Christ* (1).]	
869	Seated with *nimbus cruciger.* [*Types of Christ* (8).]	
886		Bust facing, veiled. [*Types of Virgin* (*a*).]

DATE.	CHRIST.	THE VIRGIN.
920	Standing with cross at back of head. [*Types of Christ* (4).]	
948	Bust facing with *nimbus cruciger*. [*Types of Christ* (2).]	
963		Bust facing with *nimbus* and hands raised. [*Types of Virgin* (*b*).]
		Half-length figure presenting cross to Emperor. [*Types of Virgin* (*j*).]
969	Bust facing with *nimbus cruciger* and $\overline{\text{IC}}$—$\overline{\text{XC}}$. [*Types of Christ* (5).]	Bust facing with *nimbus* holding medallion of Christ on her chest. [*Types of Virgin* (*c*).]
	Seated with *nimbus cruciger* and $\overline{\text{IC}}$—$\overline{\text{XC}}$. [*Types of Christ* (6).]	Half-length figure with *nimbus* crowning or blessing Emperor. [*Types of Virgin* (*j*).]
1028		Full-length figure with *nimbus* crowning or blessing Emperor. [*Types of Virgin* (*j*).]
1042		Standing with *nimbus* and hands raised. [*Types of Virgin* (*i*).]
1055	Standing with *nimbus cruciger*. [*Types of Christ* (4).]	Full-length figure with *nimbus* holding the *labarum* with the Empress. [*Types of Virgin* (*j*).]
1067	Bust facing without cross or *nimbus*, and $\overline{\text{IC}}$—$\overline{\text{XC}}$. [*Types of Christ* (5).]	Standing with *nimbus* holding Christ with *nimbus cruciger*. [*Types of Virgin* (*h*).]
1071	Standing with *nimbus cruciger* or *nimbus* crowning or blessing Emperor, and $\overline{\text{IC}}$—$\overline{\text{XC}}$. [*Types of Christ* (7).]	Seated with *nimbus* holding medallion of Christ. [*Types of Virgin* (*f*).]
1078	Standing with *nimbus cruciger* and $\overline{\text{IC}}$—$\overline{\text{XC}}$. [*Types of Christ* (7).]	Bust with *nimbus*, medallion of Christ on chest and hands raised. [*Types of Virgin* (*c*).]

DATE.	CHRIST.	THE VIRGIN.
1081	Bust facing on cross only and IC—XC. [*Types of Christ* (5).]	Standing with *nimbus*, medallion of Christ on chest and hands raised. [*Types of Virgin* (*g*).] Standing with *nimbus* and arms folded. [*Types of Virgin* (*i*).]
1118		Seated with *nimbus* and hands outspread. [*Types of Virgin* (*e*).]
1143		Seated with *nimbus*. [*Types of Virgin* (*e*).] Half-length figure with *nimbus* side-faced. [*Types of Virgin* (*i*).]
1182		Standing with *nimbus* holding medallion of Christ with both hands. [*Types of Virgin* (*g*).]
1204	Bust facing on cross only, and IC—XC. [*Types of Christ* (5).]	
1261	Seated with *nimbus cruciger* or *nimbus* blessing kneeling Emperor, and IC—XC. [*Types of Christ* (6).]	Bust with *nimbus* within walls. [*Types of Virgin* (*d*).] Half-length figure holding *labarum*. [*Types of Virgin* (*j*).]
1282	Standing with *nimbus cruciger* blessing prostrate Emperor, and IC—XC. [*Types of Christ* (7).]	
1341		Standing with *nimbus* shaking hands with Emperor. [*Types of Virgin* (*j*).]
1391	Bust surrounded with *stars* or *crosses*, and IC—XC. [*Types of Christ* (5).]	

The representation of the figures of SAINTS begins to come into general use about the time of Michael VI. (1056—1057). The following SAINTS and ANGELS appear on the

Byzantine coinage, sometimes standing with the Emperor, sometimes alone; sometimes the bust, full or side-face, only is given; and in some cases the types are accompanied by legends as **Ο ΑΡΧ. ΜΙΧ., Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΜΙΧΑΗΛ, Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟC, Ο Α. ΙωΑΝΝ.**, etc., etc.:—

(1) *St. Alexander*, on a rare gold coin of Alexander (912—913) *standing bearded blessing the Emperor and holding a globe cruciger* (Sab., Pl. XLVI. No. 3).

(2) *St. Michael the Archangel* on coins of Michael VI. (1056—1057; Sab., Pl. XLIX. No. 16), Isaac II. Angelus (1185—1195; Pl. LVII. Nos. 15, 17, 21, 22; LVIII. Nos. 4, 5, 7, 8), Michael VIII. Palæologus (1261—1282; Pl. LIX. Nos. 3—7 [See our **Pl. VIII. No. 1**], 10, 12, 14, 15 on horseback), Andronicus II. Palæologus (1282—1328; Pl. LX. Nos. 10—12), Andronicus II. and Michael IX. (1294—1320; Pl. LXI. Nos. 7—9), and John Angelus Comnenus, Emperor of Thessalonica (1232—1234; Pl. LXVII. No. 2). Sometimes *St. George* occurs on the same coins, as on those of Isaac II. Angelus (1185—1195; Pl. LVII. No. 18), or *St. Theodore*, as on those of Andronicus II. and III. (1325—1328; Pl. LXII. No. 3), or *St. Demetrius*, as on those of Manuel I. Angelus, Emperor of Thessalonica (1230—1232; Pl. LXVI. Nos. 11, 12).

(3) *St. Constantine* on the coins of Alexius I. Comnenus (1081—1118; Sab., Pl. LII. Nos. 16, 17).

(4) *St. George* on the coins of John II. Comnenus (1118—1143; Sab., Pl. LIII. Nos. 15—17 [see our **Pl. VIII. No. 8**], LIV. Nos. 1, 10, 13), Manuel I. Comnenus (1143—1180; Pl. LVI. No. 10), Andronicus I. Comnenus (1182—1185; Pl. LVII. No. 13), Isaac II. Angelus (1185—1195; Pl. LVII. Nos. 18, 19), Andronicus II. Palæologus (1282—1328; Pl. LX. Nos. 6, 8),

and on the coins of some of the Emperors of Nicæa (Pl. LXV. No. 1; LXVI. No. 4). Cf. Pl. LXX. No. 19. [See *St. Michael.*]

(5) *St. Theodore* on coins of Manuel I. Comnenus (1143—1180; Sab., Pl. LV. No. 2 [see our **Pl. VII. No. 7**]), Isaac Ducas Comnenus (1182—1191; Pl. LVIII. No. 9), Andronicus II. and III. (1325—1328; Pl. LXII. No. 4), and Theodore III. Vatatses Ducas Lascaris, Emperor of Nicæa (1255—1259; Pl. LXVI. Nos. 1, 3, 5, 6). [See *St. Michael.*]

(6) *St. Demetrius* on coins of Manuel I. Comnenus (1143—1180; Sab., Pl. LV. No. 9), Andronicus II. Palæologus (1282—1328; Pl. LX. No. 5), Andronicus II. and III. (1325—1328; Pl. LXII. Nos. 7, 12), John V. Palæologus (1341—1391; Pl. LXII. Nos. 17—19), and of the Emperors of Nicæa (Pl. LXV. Nos. 5—7, 11—13; LXVI. Nos. 2, 3), and Thessalonica (Pl. LXVII. No. 3.) [See *St. Michael*].

(7) *St. Andronicus* on coins of Andronicus II. and III. (1325—1328; Sab., Pl. LXI. No. 17).

(8) *St. Eugenius* on the coins of the Emperors of Trebizond (1204—1462; Sab., Pl. LXVII.—LXVIII. No. 1, etc., No. 8 on horseback [see our **Pl. VIII. No. 9**]; Pl. LXIX., LXX.).

(9) *St. John* on coins of John I. Comnenus Axouchos, Emperor of Trebizond (1235—1238; Sab., Pl. LXVII. Nos. 9, 10).

(10) *Unknown* on coins of John II. Comnenus (Sab., Pl. LV. Nos. 1, 11, ? *St. Theodore*), Alexius II. Angelus (Pl. LVIII. No. 9 *bis*), Manuel II. Palæologus (Pl. LXIII. No. 13 on horseback, ? *St. Demetrius*), John VIII. Palæologus (Pl. LXIV. No. 2, ? *St. John*), and Manuel I. Angelus, Emperor of Thessalonica (Pl. LXVI. No. 9).

The head or body of a *Seraph*, surrounded by wings, occurs on the coins of Andronicus I. Comnenus (Sab., Pl. LVII. Nos. 9, 10), Andronicus II. and Michael IX. (Pl. LX. No. 19; LXI. No. 11), and John III. Ducas Vatatses, Emperor of Nicæa (Pl. LXX. No. 15), very similar in form to the Seraphim and Cherubim, engraved in Smith and Cheetham, "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities," *s. v.* "Angels and Archangels."

On some coins of Romanus I. and II., Constantine X., Nicephorus II. Focas, John Zimisces, Basil II., Manuel I. Comnenus, and Alexius III. Angelus Comnenus, the initial letters of the names of these Emperors are so placed as to form a *cross* (Sab., Pl. I. Nos. 54—60, 63, 68, 69);[25] in some cases, as on the coins of Romanus I. and II., taking the form of an *anchor* (Nos. 53, 54, 55), whilst on the coins of Romanus IV., Alexius I. Comnenus and Baudouin (Nos. 65, 67, 71), the initials are figured around a *Maltese cross.*

To the reign of John I. Zimisces (969—976) is attributed by Eckhel[26] a remarkable brass coin or medal,

[25] On the coin of Alexius III. the monogram is $\overset{A}{K+\Phi}_{A}$ (Sab., Pl. I. No. 69; Pl. LVIII. No. 10). M. de Saulcy has suggested ("Essai de Class. des Suites Mon. Byz.," p. 359) as its interpretation Ἀλέξιος Ἄγγελος Κυριοφίλος, quoting in corroboration the inscription on an enormous medallion of Nicephorus III. Botaniates (with the bust of the Virgin), published by Ducange ("Fam. Byz.," p. 137; cf. Sab., vol. ii. p. 179, *note*)—ΘΚΕ. ΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΩ ΦΙΛΟΧΡΙΣΤΩ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ ΤΩ ΒΟΤΑΝΕΙΑΤΗ, adding that there would be nothing strange in the analogous expression Φίλος Κυρίου or Κυριοφίλος; but ΚΦ can scarcely stand for Κυριοφίλος. It is perhaps preferable to interpret these letters as Κύριε φύλασσε Ἀλεξίον Ἀγγέλον [see *Types of Christ* (5), and our **Pl. VII. No. 5**; and *Types of Christ* (7); Sab., Pl. LI. No. 18].

[26] "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 251.

which Tanini[27] had given to Constantine I., of which the following is a description :—

Obv.—*Protome adversa nimbata servatoris prominentibus pone crucis radiis.*

Rev.—**ANACTACIC.** *Templum rotundum, hinc et illinc miles excubitor humi jacens.* Æ. II.

It at one time caused considerable discussion,[28] and the temple on it has been supposed to represent the church built by Constantine I. the Great, over the Sepulchre at Jerusalem from which Christ arose (*τῆς σωτηρίου* 'ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ *μαρτύριον*),[29] and hence the name of *Anastasis, i.e.* Resurrection, and the orthodox Greek Church commemorates the dedication of the Church of the *Anastasis*, by Constantine the Great (Ἐγκαίνια τοῦ Ναοῦ *τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ* Χριστοῦ *καὶ* Θεοῦ *ἡμῶν* 'ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ), on September 13th.[30] But, as Eckhel has remarked, why go to *Jerusalem* for this church, when Sozomen relates[31] that Gregory of Nazianzen preached at *Constantinople* in a dwelling which had been altered into a house of prayer, and which, subsequently, became one of the most remarkable in the city by the magnificence of its decorations and the special revelations which were there vouchsafed by the grace of God. Sozomen adds that "the name of *Anastasia* was given to this church ('ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΑΝ δὲ *ταύτην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὀνομάζουσιν*), because (as he believed) the Nicene doctrines

[27] Page 280.

[28] See "H. Valesii Epistola de Anastasi et Martyrio Hierosolymitano," in Eusebius, "Vita Const.," ed. Heinichen, p. 501, Lips. 1830.

[29] Euseb. "Vit. Const.," iii., c. 28, 29 *seq.*; "Orat. de laud. Const.," c. 9.

[30] Prof. Cheetham, Smith and Cheetham, "Dict. of Christ. Antiq.," *s. v.* "Anastasis."

[31] "Hist. Eccles.," vii., c. 5.

which were buried beneath the errors of heterodoxy at Constantinople, were here brought to light (*ἀνέστη*) and maintained by Gregory," whilst others, he says, "ascribe the origin of this name to a miracle, and relate that one day, when the people were met for prayer, a pregnant woman fell from the highest gallery and was found dead, but that at the prayer of the whole congregation she was restored to life, and she and her infant were saved."

Whatever may be the interpretation of the legend, I must add that no specimen of this piece is in the British Museum; that no mention is made of it either by De Saulcy or Sabatier, and that it does not seem to me to be above suspicion.[31a]

During the same reign some brass coins or tokens, which have been published by Dr. Friedlaender,[31b] were issued, (1) having on the obverse the bust of Christ, with *nimbus* and the letters **IC—XC**, and on the reverse the legend **ΘΩΔΑΝ — ΕΙΖΕΙΤΟΥ — ΣΠΕΝΗΤΑΣ —**

[31a] From a representation of this piece in Mamachi ("Orig. et Ant. Christ.," vol. i. p. 287, ed. Matranga, Rom. 1841), with a drawing of which I have been favoured by Professor Babington, it would seem that this is a *medal*, and certainly of much later date than the time of Constantine. It was formerly in the Vettori Museum. Another medal given by the same author (vol. i. p. 240) has a similar bust of Christ on the obverse, but on the reverse the legend **REDEMTIO FILIIS HOMINVM —IORDA** (in exergue), and the type the baptism of Christ by John. De Rossi ("Bullett. di Arch. Crist.," 1869, p. 58) thinks that the **ANACTACIC** medal was made to be bought by the pilgrims as souvenirs of their visit to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and evidently considers it mediæval, but says that both it and the **IORDA** medal are "non meno incerte ed enigmatiche" than the Pasqualini medal [see *note* 35]. The "Jordan medal" is now in the Vatican, and De Rossi confesses that he cannot form in his mind "un giudizio sull' età o sull' arti di questa medaglie"—in fact, he rather suspects its genuineness.

[31b] "Numismatische Zeitschrift," Vienna, vol. ii., 1870.

ΟΤΡΕΦΩΝ, and (2) on the obverse ΔΑ—ΝΕΙΖΕΙ—ΘΕΩ, and on the reverse ΟΕΛΕ—ΩΝΠΤΩ—ΧΟΝ, which may be interpreted, Θεῷ δανείζει τοὺς πένητας ὁ τρέφων and δανείζει Θεῷ ὁ ἐλέων πτωχὸν (*He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth unto the Lord*). Both are translations of the same Hebrew verse (Prov. xix. 17), and the latter is the exact translation of the LXX. The first piece is in the collection of Prince Philip of Saxe-Coburg, the second in the Museum at Basle. Dr. Friedlaender remarks, "It is curious that the coins of the smallest value are always those which remind the possessor to give them to the poor."

During the reign of John II. Comnenus (1118—1143), according to the late Baron Marchant,[32] or of John V. Palæologus (1341—1391), according to the late Mr. de Salis, and with greater probability, a most remarkable brass coin was issued representing the Emperor with *nimbus* holding the *labarum* on which X, and on the reverse the three Magi worshipping the Virgin and child, accompanied by the letters $\frac{\text{ΕΥΛΟ}}{\text{Ε}}$ (Pl. VIII. No. 10). This piece, which is in the British Museum, is considered by Mr. Grueber to be undoubtedly genuine. The inscription is probably ΕΥΛΟγΕιτε or rather ΕΥΛΟγημΕνη, which would not be inappropriate, as we know that the Virgin was hailed by her cousin Elizabeth as "Blessed among women, and blessed the fruit of her womb" (Εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξὶ, καὶ εὐλογημένος ὁ καρπὸς τῆς κοιλίας σου. Luke i. 42).

Another specimen of very similar reverse type, but having on the obverse the bust of Christ facing with *nimbus cruciger* and the legend ЄMMANVHL (*sic*), was formerly in the Pembroke Collection, and passing into the

[32] "Mél. de Numismatique."

Cabinet of the late Mr. Wigan, is now in the possession of the Rev. S. S. Lewis (**Pl. VIII. No. 11**), who has published and engraved it in the new edition of Dr. Farrar's "Life of Christ."[33] Mr. Lewis most kindly sent me the piece to see, and I must confess that I am not altogether favourably impressed with its appearance. I may observe that Mr. Burgon, the author of the "Pembroke Sale Catalogue,"[34] classed it among "early fabrications in copper bearing imaginary types," and stated that "the composition can hardly be regarded as genuine, but as the metal and surface are antique, it must (if false) have been produced by means of a punch and an engraving tool, principally by the former. The workers in *niello*, in Italy, in the fifteenth century, used their tools in a manner which is almost inconceivable." If, however, there is no doubt about the authenticity of the piece in the British Museum, we can hardly reject this one as spurious on account of its *composition*. The two birds (? doves) in the exergue of the reverse are suggested by Mr. Lewis to "delicately symbolise the Purification."[35]

It may be, as Martigny has suggested,[36] that medals or

[33] Ed. Cassell, Petter and Galpin, p. 21. [34] Page 324.

[35] Professor Babington has pointed out to me that De Rossi ("Bullett. di Arch. Crist.," 1869, p. 45) gives a figure of what he is fully persuaded is this *medal*, but drawn about three times the natural size. The figure is from a drawing by Ménétrier, made in 1629, and now in the Imperial (National) Library at Paris. It was then in the possession of Pasqualini, afterwards in the Kircherian Museum, and is now, according to De Rossi, lost (*smarrito*). De Rossi inclines to think it belongs to about the second half of the fifth century or the first half of the sixth ("Bullett.," p. 54), but Professor Babington does not believe it is nearly so old, and from its style considers it to be at least as late as the time of John Zimisces, in which view I fully agree. See *note* 31a.

[36] "Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.," p. 383.

medallions of this description were frequently struck for suspending round the neck, as was done with the *verres dorés* with the same subject.[37]

The representation of the Adoration of the Magi on both these pieces, especially on the latter, is very similar to that on a fresco of the cemetery of Callistus, engraved by Martigny,[38] or to that on a fresco in the cemetery of St. Marcellinus, engraved by the Rev. W. H. Withrow.[39]

On the 29th of May, 1453, Mahomet II. made his general assault on Constantinople. In vain had the celestial image of the Virgin been exposed in solemn procession. The last of the Palæologi, Constantine XIII., fell by an unknown hand on the walls of his capital. "It was thus, after a siege of fifty-three days, that Constantinople, which had defied the power of Chosroes, the Chagan, and the Caliphs, was irretrievably subdued by the arms of Mahomet II. Her empire only had been subverted by the Latins; her religion was trampled in the dust by the Moslem conquerors."[40]

Mahomet II. immediately issued coins (Sab., Pl. LXIV. Nos. 4, 5) with the barbarous legend, **+OM MЄΛHKIC ΠACHC POMA[C]** (or **PωMANIA[C]**) **KAI ANATOΛHC MAXAMATHC,** which has been explained by the late M. Lenormant, *the Sovereign of all Greece and Anatolia, Mahomet.*

FREDERIC W. MADDEN.

[37] Garrucci, "Vetri," iv. No. 9.
[38] "Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.," p. 888.
[39] "The Catacombs of Rome," p. 306. Lond. 1877.
[40] Gibbon, "Rom. Emp.," ed. Smith, vol. viii. p. 172.

ADDENDA.

INTRODUCTION.—I am indebted to the Rev. Prof. Churchill Babington for the following note:—"Some have thought that a few scattered examples of Christian symbols are earlier than the reign of Constantine. Among the kings of Edessa, Abgar Bar Manu, or Abgar VIII. (who reigned A.D. 153—188, according to Langlois), is said to have been 'a holy man' (ἱερὸς ἀνὴρ, Jul. Afric. in Euseb. 'Chron.,' Olymp. 149, 1), and as he patronised the Christian Bardesanes, and forbade the worship of Cybele, it has been inferred that he was a Christian, and this inference is thought to be 'strengthened by the fact that on the coins of this prince the usual symbols of the old national worship are for the first time wanting, and the sign of the cross appears in their place.' (Neander, 'Ch. Hist.,' vol. i. p. 111; Bohn, following Bayer, 'Hist. Osr. et Edess. ex Num. illustr.,' lib. iii. p. 171, who figures two coins of an Abgarus, contemporary with Severus and bearing his head, in which a *cross* appears on the tiara.) The cross is formed in one case of five dots (pearls), in the other the central dot becomes oval. The chronology of these kings is doubtful. Neander places Abgar Bar Manu between 160—170, but it seems impossible, in any case, that these coins can belong to him. The *cross*, however (apparently of five united dots),[41] is found on a coin

[41] A coin of Abgar and Commodus, obtained in the East by the Rev. G. I. Chester, now in the possession of the Rev. Prof. Babington, has a cross formed by two lines apparently; but these may have been five dots in the perfect state of the coin.

of Abgarus having the head of Commodus on the reverse (Langlois, 'Num. de l'Arménie,' Pl. IV. No. 7), who may be Abgar VIII. That which is certain about these coins is, that on some coins of an Abgar contemporary with Severus, a *cross* occurs on the diadem, while on others we have the crescent surmounted by a star, taken by Bayer and Neander to be the symbols of the old national worship. Upon the whole it seems best to regard the *cross* as only a *cruciform star*, with which the heads of the Dioscuri are sometimes surmounted, without any Christian significance."

I am quite of Prof. Babington's opinion, and the coin of Abgar and Commodus that is engraved (**Pl. VIII. No. 12**), shows a + or a **X** on the tiara of Abgar.

§ I. The Padre Garrucci has called my attention to some of the brass coins of the Emperor Maxentius, on which an hexastyle temple is represented, on the *tympanum* of which may be seen **X** and ✠ (**Pl. VIII. Nos. 13, 14**), stating that these signs can be explained by the arbitrary acts of the mint-masters, who were for the most part Christians at the time when Maxentius appeared to reconcile himself to the Church, recognising its Head and restoring the use of the cemeteries in Rome to the Christians, and adding that he will give a more detailed explanation in his "Storia dell' arte Cristiana."

I am unable to find out about "the restoration of the cemeteries," but Eusebius states[42] that Maxentius, who had made himself master of Rome, "at first made an hypocritical profession of our religion to please and flatter the people of Rome, and commanded his subjects to forbear persecuting the Christians, pretending to piety and

[42] "Hist. Eccles.," viii. c. 14.

desiring to appear much more mild and merciful than his predecessors. But he by no means proved in his actions such as was expected."

It is just possible that these may be Christian symbols, as Garrucci suggests, but it is doubtful.

§ XIV. The Padre Garrucci sends me a description of the following unpublished gold coin of Constantine I. the Great:—

Obv.—**CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG.** Bust crowned with gems and laurels, or surrounded by laurels interwoven with gems, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—**RESTITVT. ORBIS.** Constantine to the right in military dress, with a globe in his right hand, leaning on a spear; opposite a female figure holding a crown to place on his head; between them a *cross*, +. *Æ*.

§ XV. *note* 168. After "later date" add:—Indeed, it has been suggested ("Edinburgh Review," vol. cxx. 1864, p. 229) that this inscription refers to the Emperor Flavius Constantius and Constantius *Gallus* Cæsar, who were consuls in 352, 353, and 354.

§ XXV. The Padre Garrucci has also called my attention to the coin of Pulcheria, on which I read the word **NPBTIIS** (*sic*), stating that this should be **NᴖBTIIS**, this form of the *u* (ᴖ) being in use in the East, and on a brass coin of Anastasius it is so engraved by De Saulcy.[43] Mr. Grueber has kindly examined for me the coins in the British Museum, and on several of those of Basiliscus (476—477; cf. Sab., Pl. VIII. No. 14) this letter occurs. The use of the form ᴖ, however, seems to have been limited, and is not the one which was afterwards generally adopted in the

[43] "Essai de Class. des Suites Mon. Byz.," Pl. I. No. 4.

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DESCRIPTION OF PLATES VI., VII., AND VIII.

Plate VI.

1. *Obv.*—**D. N. IVSTINIANVS P. P. AVG.** Bust of Justinian I. with diadem to the right.

 Rev.—**A ⊤ Ѡ.** Æ.

 (British Museum; Sab., Pl. XII. No. 15.)

2. *Obv.*—**D. N. IVSTINVS ЄT [IVST]INIAN.** Busts of Justin I. and Justinian I. facing, both with *nimbus*; beneath, **VITA.**

 Rev.—Index **K** with the differential **Δ**; to the left a long cross between the letters **A** **N** / **⊤** **X**. Æ.

 (British Museum; Sab., Pl. XI. No. 22.)

3. *Obv.*—**D. N. IVSTINIANVS P. AG** (*sic*). Bust of Justinian I. to the right with diadem. On the chest the ✠ (reversed).

 Rev.—Index **M**, with the differential **Γ**, between a star and a long cross; above, a small cross; in the exergue **KART.** Æ.

 (British Museum; cf. Sab., Pl. XII. No. 22.)

4. *Obv.*—**D. N. TIb. CONSTANT. P. P. AV. I.** Bust of Tiberius II. Constantine facing, wearing a diadem surmounted by a cross, holding a globe on which a cross, and a shield ornamented with a horseman.

 Rev.—**VICTORIA AVGG.Γ.** Cross on four steps; in the exergue **CONOB.** *N.*

 (British Museum; cf. Sab., Pl. XXII. No. 18.)

5. *Obv.*—**D. M. COST[ANT]INVS** (*sic*) **P. P. AG.** (*sic*). Bust of Tiberius II. Constantine to right, with diadem.

Rev.—**VICTOR TIbЄRI AЧS.** Cross on a circle; in the exergue **COMOB.** *Half-solidus.* *N.*

(British Museum; cf. Sab., Pl. XXII. No. 17.)

6. *Obv.*—**DD. NN. hЄRACLIVS Є T hЄRA. CONST.** Heraclius and his son, Heraclius Constantine, seated facing, wearing diadems surmounted by crosses, and each holding a globe *cruciger;* between their heads a small cross.

Rev.—**DEVS ADIVTA ROmANIS.** Cross on a globe placed on three steps within a wreath. *Æ.*

(British Museum; cf. Sab., Pl. XXIX. No. 23.)

7. *Obv.*—**Є N TϬTO NIKA.** Heraclius with diadem surmounted by a cross standing facing, holding a long cross and a globe *cruciger.*

Rev.—Index **M** between two crosses; above, a cross; in the exergue **CRTS** (for **KARTS**). Æ.

(Sab., Pl. XXVIII. No. 26.)

8. *Obv.*—**CONST. LЄO P. P.** Bust of Constantine V. Copronymus and his son Leo IV. facing, with diadems surmounted by crosses, Constantine holding a globe *cruciger;* between them a small cross; above, a hand descending from heaven.

Rev.—**IVCTORI** (*sic*) **AVϛTO** (*sic*). Cross on three steps between a star and the letter **R** (? Ravenna); in the exergue **CONOB.** *N.*

(British Museum; Sab., Pl. XL. No. 22.)

9. *Obv.*—**COh—SϬA hTI—hЄSLЄON—ЄCOh ЧbA—SILIS** in five lines within a beaded circle. (Constantine V. Copronymus and Leo IV. his son.)

Rev.—**IhSЧS XRISЬЧS hICA.** Cross on three steps. *Æ.*

(British Museum; cf. Sab., Pl. XL. No. 25.)

The obverse legend, which is very difficult, Prof. Babington thinks may perhaps be Κωνσταντῖνος εὐσεβὴς καὶ Λέων εὐσεβὴς ὁ νέος, βασιλεῖς, *The Pious Constantine and pious Leo the Younger, kings.*

On two gold coins of Leo IV. (Sab., Pl. XLI. Nos. 2, 3) representing his grandfather, Leo III. (πάππος), his father, Constantine V. Copronymus (πατήρ), himself, and his son Constantine VI. (ὁ νέος), there occurs the word **VSSESSON**, which has not till recently been even partially explained. Dr. Friedlaender has suggested[45] that **VS** stands for υἱός, so that we have the relationship of the grandfather, the father, the son (ὁ υἱός), and the young son clearly defined; but as to **SЄSSON**, he can only suggest that it is connected with the Byzantine word σέσσος (Lat. *sessus*), which is used frequently for *throne*, and in this case may allude to the joint reign of Leo IV. and his son Constantine VI.

10. *Obv.*—+IωAhh, — ЄhXωAVτO — CRAT, ЄVSЄb—bASILЄVS—RωmAIω in five lines within a beaded circle ornamented with eight globules.

Rev.—+IhSЧS XRISTЧS hICA✳. Cross on two steps, and having in its centre a circle bearing the bust of John I. Zimisces, on either side of which the letters $\frac{I}{ω}$—$\frac{A}{h}$ (Ἰωάννης). Æ.

(British Museum; Sab., Pl. XLVII. No. 19.)

The obverse legend is Ἰωάννης ἐν Χριστῷ αὐτοκράτωρ εὐσεβὴς βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων, *John in Christ, ruler, pious King of the Romans.*

11. *Obv.*—D. N. IVSTINIANЧS MЧLTЧS AV. Bust of Justinian II. Rhinotmetus facing, with ornamented diadem, holding a cross on three steps, and a globe on which is the word **PAX**, surmounted by a cross.

[45] "Zeitschrift für Numismatik," Berlin, vol. iv. 1876—1877.

Rev.—dN. IhS. ChS. REX REGNANTIЧM. Bust of Christ facing on a cross, giving the benediction with the right hand, and holding the Gospels in the left. *N.*

(British Museum; cf. Sab., Pl. XXXVII. No. 2.)

12. *Obv.*—COhSTAhT. CЄ. ROmAh. AЧϛϛ. bR. Busts of Constantine X. and his son Romanus II. facing with diadem, holding together and between them a long cross.

Rev.—+IhS. XRS. REX REGNANTIЧM. Bust of Christ facing, with *nimbus*, on a cross, giving the benediction and holding the Gospels. *N.*

(British Museum; cf. Sab., Pl. XLVI. No. 18.)

The obverse legend is Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ Ῥωμανὸς Αὔγουστοι βασιλεῖς Ῥωμαίων, *Constantine and Romanus Augusti, kings of the Romans.*

PLATE VII.

1. *Obv.*—bASILIOS ЄT COhSTAhT. AЧϛϛ. b. Busts of Basil I. and Constantine IX. facing, with diadem, surmounted by a cross, holding together and between them a long cross.

Rev.—+IhS. XPS. REX REϛNANTIЧM. Christ with *nimbus* on cross seated facing, giving the benediction with the right hand raised, holding in the left the Gospels. *N.*

(British Museum; Sab., Pl. XLIV., No. 22.)

The obverse legend is βασίλιος et (for καὶ) Κωνσταντῖνος Αὔγουστοι βασιλεῖς, *Basil and Constantine Augusti, kings.*

2. *Obv.*—+ΘЄOΔωPA AVΓOVCTA. The Virgin with *nimbus* (on either side of whom are the letters M—$\overline{\Theta}$), and Theodora with diadem, and dress ornamented with † on a medallion, holding together and between them the *labarum*.

Rev.—+IhS. XPS. REX RECNANTIAIm (*sic*). Christ with *nimbus* on cross, standing facing, holding in the left hand the Gospels. *N.*

(British Museum ; cf. Sab., Pl. XLIX. No. 18.)

8. *Obv.*—COhSTANT.'ET XPISTOF.' b.' R.' Busts of Constantine X. and Christophorus facing, with diadem, surmounted by cross, holding together and between them a long cross.

Rev.—+XE. bOHΘEI ROMAhW SESPOTH. Romanus I. standing facing, with diadem, surmounted by a cross, holding in right hand a globe *cruciger* ; to the right Christ with head on cross standing, placing his right hand on the head of the Emperor. *N.*

(British Museum ; cf. Sab., Pl. XLVI. No. 10.)

The obverse legend is probably Κωνσταντῖνος et (for καὶ) Χριστοφόρος βασιλεῖς Ῥωμαίων, the reverse Χριστὲ βοήθει Ῥωμανῷ δεσπότῃ. The formula **XριστE bOHΘEI**, instead of the usual **KύριE bOHΘEI**, is of rare occurrence, and may be corroborated by a Byzantine lead seal, published by Herr Miller,[46] on the obverse of which is the inscription **XριCτὲ Βοήθει TW CW ΔYΛW**, and on the reverse **+ANΔ—PEAM—AΔΔA—TOPI**, and which from the fact that Andreas bears the title of Μανδάτωρ (one who gives or carries [orders]), an office in vogue under Constantine X. Porphyrogenitus (912—959), has been attributed by Herr Miller to the reign of this Emperor. M. Le Bas has published[47] a marble found in the island of Delos with the inscription **XEBOHΘEI** (Χριστὲ βοήθει), and though it is impossible to fix a date without seeing this monument, Herr Miller thinks that it is probably of the same age as the seal of Andreas. It may be added that on

[46] "Rev. Num.," 1861, p. 23.
[47] "Voyage Archéol.," No. 8918.

the coins of a later date of Andronicus II. Palæologus and Andronicus III., the legend $\overline{IC}$—$\overline{XC}$, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός—**KVPIЄ BOHΘЄI** may be found (Sab., Pl. LXI. Nos. 14, 15. See *Types of Christ* (6)).

4. *Obv.*—**+ЄMMANOVHΛ.** Bust of Christ with *nimbus*, on the cross, facing, giving the benediction and holding the Gospels; on either side $\overline{IC}$—$\overline{XC}$.

Rev.—**+I҂SЧS — XRISTЧS — BASILЄЧ — BASILЄ** in four lines. Æ.

(British Museum; cf. Sab., Pl. XLVIII. No. 5.)

5. *Obv.*— $\begin{matrix} C|R \\ P|\Delta \end{matrix}$ —Κύριε βοήθει Ῥωμανῷ Δεσπότῃ. *Lord, help the despot Romanus.*

Rev.—Bust of Christ facing, bare, with three globules on either side, holding the Gospels, accompanied by the legend $\begin{matrix} \overline{IC}—\overline{XC} \\ NI—KA \end{matrix}$. Æ.

(British Museum; Sab., Pl. LI. No. 3.)

6. *Obv.*—**MIXAHΛ RACIΛ** [? **O. Δ.**]. Bust of Michael VII. Ducas, facing, with diadem, surmounted by cross, holding *labarum* and globe *cruciger*.

Rev.—Christ with *nimbus* on cross, seated facing, holding the Gospels; on either side $\overline{IC}$—$\overline{XC}$. Concave, *N*.

(British Museum; Sab. Pl. LI. No. 4.)

Obverse legend Μιχαὴλ βασιλεύς. The letters **O Δ.**, if these letters occur, as given by Sabatier, probably stand for ὁ Δοῦκας.

7. *Obv.*—**MANЧHΛ O ΘЄOΔωROC.** Manuel I. Comnenus and St. Theodore with *nimbus*, standing, holding together and between them a long cross on a globe; both placing their hands on the hilts of their swords.

Rev.—Christ with *nimbus cruciger* standing, facing, on a cushion, between the letters ΙC—XC, and two eight-rayed stars. Concave, *N*.

(British Museum; Sab., Pl. LV. No. 2.)

8. *Obv.*—Bust of Alexius I. or Manuel I. Comnenus facing, with diadem, surmounted by cross, holding the *labarum* and globe *cruciger*.

Rev.—ΙC ✳ XC. Æ.

(British Museum; Sab., Pl. LII. No. 22.)

9. *Obv.*—LEOh EN XW bASILEчS ROmWN. Bust of Leo VI. facing, with diadem, surmounted by cross, holding globe *cruciger*.

Rev.—+mARIA+. Bust of the Virgin facing and veiled, raising her hands; on either side MR—Θч. *N*.

(Cab. des Méd., Paris; Sab., Pl. XLV. No. 11.)

Obverse legend Λέων ἐν Χριστῷ βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων, *Leo in Christ, king of the Romans.*

10. *Obv.*—ΘKERΘ — KWNCTAN — TINWΔEC — ΠOTHTW—MONOMA, in five lines.

Rev.—M. RAAKEb[NIT]ICA (*sic*). Bust of the Virgin of Blachernæ facing, with *nimbus*, raising her hands, on either side MP—ΘV. *R*.

(British Museum; cf. Sab., Pl. XLIX. No. 12.)

The obverse legend is Θεοτόκε βοήθει Κωνσταντίνῳ Δεσπότῃ τῷ Μονομάχῳ, *Mother of God, help Constantine Monomachus the despot.*

The reverse refers to the Virgin of Blachernæ. The suburb of Blachernæ was situate at the extreme limits of Constantinople beyond the fourteenth region. Theodosius II., in 413, surrounded it with a wall which in 447

was destroyed by earthquake, but rebuilt in three months by the præfect Cyrus. Within this suburb, which was not taken into the city till the time of Heraclius,[48] the Empress Pulcheria is said to have erected a temple to the Virgin called *Ædes Blachernianæ*, which Justin I. restored, and the tops of the columns of which Romanus Argyrus (who reigned about ten years before Constantine XII. Monomachus), adorned with gold. On account of the many miracles said to have been performed here—especially that relating to the veil which covered, or rather hung in front of, the image of the Virgin in the temple, and which was every now and then taken up to heaven by no human aid, thus exposing the face to view for a few days, and then returning to its place—the temple and image were held in high esteem. It was burnt down during the reign of Romanus Diogenes, but eventually Andronicus II. Palæologus restored it, and further adorned it;[49] and on some of his coins may be

[48] Τὸ ιέ ἔτος τῆς βασιλείας Ἡρακλείου ἐκτίσθη τὸ τεῖχος ἔξωθεν Βλαχερνῶν καὶ ἀπεκλείθη ἔσωθεν ὁ ναὸς τῆς πανάγιας Θεοτόκου, καὶ ἡ ἅγια σορὸς, πρώην γὰρ ἔξωθεν.—Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει (17) ἐκτίσθη τὸ τεῖχος πέριξ τοῦ οἴκου τῆς Δεσποίνης ἡμέτερης τοῦ Θεοτόκου ἔξωθεν τοῦ καλουμένου Πτεροῦ. "Chron. Alex.," *ad ann. Heracl.* XV. and XVII.; Ducange, "Const. Christ.," lib. i. c. xi.

[49] "Situm Deiparæ Blachernarum ædis designat Petrus Gyllius (lib. i. cap. xxi., et lib. iv. cap. v.), 'Prope Xyloportum et angulum urbis occidentalem inter radices sexti Collis et Sinum, ubi stetit Deiparæ ædes Blacherniana.' Ædem vero Deiparæ Blachernianam à Pulcheriâ Augustâ primum ædificatam scribunt passim præter Zonaram, Scriptores Byzantini, Theodorus, &c. Hanc ædem postmodum de novo instauravit Justinus Senior ut auctor est Procopius ('De ædif.,' lib. i. cap. iii. and vi.) at cum forma oblonga esset, ut ait idem scriptor. Columnarum capita auro exornasse Romanum Argyrum addit idem Cedrenus (pag. 429) ut et Glycas. Denique solo tenus incensum fuisse sub Romano Diogene ('Indict.,' viii. refert Scylitzes, pag. 833), restauratum postmodum novis ornamentis et nova ædificiorum accessione auxit iniro Andro-

found the letters B—Λ on either side of the bust of the Virgin within the walls of Constantinople (Sab., Pl. LX. No. 4; *Types of Virgin* (*d*)).

11. *Obv.*—ΘCЄ. ЬΘ. ҬOIS ЬASILS. Bust of the Virgin with *nimbus* facing, holding on her chest a medallion of Christ on the cross; on either side M—Θ V.

Rev.—+M̄ЄR̄Θ ч—DЄDOΞASm—OЄIS. SЄ ЄL —ΠIZΩ ћO ч—CAΠOҬ 'K' in five lines. Æ.

(Cab. des Méd., Paris; cf. Sab., Pl. XLVII. No. 18.)

I have to thank M. Henry Cohen, of Paris, for an impression of this rare coin. The obverse legend is Θεοτόκε βοήθει τοῖς βασιλεῦσι, *i.e. Mother of God, help the Kings*, and probably refers to John Zimisces in association with the two sons of Romanus II.—Basil II. and Constantine XI. The reverse legend is more difficult and has been variously interpreted. M. de Saulcy, who published this coin,[50] explained it as "Μῆτερ Θεοῦ δεδοξασμένη ὁ εἰς σε ἐλπίζων οὐκ ἀποτυγχάνει, ou bien encore οὐκ ἄποτμος χαίρεσται; *Mère de Dieu, pleine de gloire, celui qui met en toi son espérance n'échoue jamais dans ses projets*, ou bien *n'est*

nicus Senior, &c. Prædictis addo, Blachernianam ædem ob ejusmodi sacras reliquias, atque adeo ob crebra miracula, quibus illa potissimum coruscabat, tantæ fuisse venerationis, etiam apud exteros ut illius appellatione Deiparæ sacras alias ædes sibi ædificarint."—Ducange, "Const. Christ.," lib. i. c. xi. Ducange also quotes an unknown author, who speaks of the "crebras sanitates quæ Deiparæ interventu eo in templo ab ægris obtinebantur." In the "Archæologia" (vol. xiv. pp. 231—248) is an account of the walls of Constantinople, by the Rev. James Dallaway. The towers in the region of Blachernæ still survive, and "exhibit the Gothic architecture of the Middle Ages in England" (p. 287).

[50] "Essai de Class. des Suites Monétaires Byzantines," p. 244; Planche XXII. No. 1.

jamais malheureux, mais est comblé de biens," the latter reading being adopted by M. Sabatier.[51] Both authors transcribe the last line of the legend as **CΔΠΟΤ'X'**, and both engrave a **X** as the final letter. Mr. Grueber, who had the cast made for me from the impression, seemed to think there was little doubt of the last letter being anything but a **X**, and in this case the only reading that suggested itself was ἀποτεύξεται Χριστοῦ. Not, however, feeling quite satisfied about it, I sent the cast to Prof. Babington, who, rejecting De Saulcy's reading as untenable, thinks that the last letter is a **K** and *not* a **X**, and that it should be interpreted **K**υρίου, this being somewhat more in accordance with Biblical usage than **X**ριστοῦ would be. If this view be correct, the last line of the inscription is **CΔΠΟΤ'K'**, and the whole legend may be read Μῆτερ Θεοῦ δεδοξασμένη ὁ εἰς σε ἐλπίζων οὐκ ἀποτεύξεται Κυρίου, *O glorified Mother of God, he that trusteth in thee shall not fail of the Lord.*

12. *Obv.*—+**ΘK€—ROHΘ€I—ΛΛ€ΣIW—Δ€CΠOT—TW KOM—NHNW** in six lines.

Rev.—Bust of the Virgin with *nimbus* facing, raising both hands; on her chest a medallion of the infant Jesus; on either side **M**—**ΘV**. Æ.

(British Museum; cf. Sab., Pl. LII. Nos. 10, 11.)

The obverse legend is Θεοτόκε βοήθει Ἀλεξίῳ Δεσπότῃ τῷ Κομνηνῷ, *Mother of God, help the despot Alexius Comnenus.*

PLATE VIII.

1. *Obv.*—**X**M. [Δ]€——**OΠΛΛ€O** (in the field). Christ with *nimbus* on cross seated facing; at his feet Michael VIII. Palæologus kneeling, supported by the Archangel Michael; on either side of the head of Christ **IC**—**XC**.

[51] "Mon. Byz.," vol. ii. p. 141.

Rev.—Bust of the Virgin with *nimbus* facing, with hands raised, and encircled by the walls of Constantinople adorned with towers; on either side of the head of the Virgin $\overline{\text{MP}}$—$\overline{\Theta\text{V}}$. Concave, *Æ*.

(British Museum; cf. Sab., Pl. LIX. No. 8.)

The obverse legend is Μιχαὴλ δεσπότης ὁ Παλαιόλογος.[52]

This type commemorates the restoration of the Greek Emperors at Constantinople, after it had been under the sway of the Latins for nearly fifty-eight years. Pachymer, of Nicæa, who flourished during the reign of Michel VIII., records[53] "that Michael, after the taking of Constantinople, changed the type of the old coins, engraving in its stead a representation of the city." The obverse type represents the Emperor, presented or supported by the Archangel Michael, kneeling to Christ seated [see *Types of Christ* (6)], or the Emperor in prostration before Christ standing, or the two Emperors blessed by Christ. [See *Types of Christ* (7)]. On the coins of Andronicus II. the legend is **ANΔPNIKOC** (*sic*) **ΔЄCΠOTIC HC.**, according to Sabatier (Pl. LX. No. 4, cf. No. 3), but Eckhel (*op. cit.*) gives a coin from Liebe, Ducange, and Banduri, with the legend **ANΔPNICOC** (*sic*) **ЄN Xω. ΔЄ-CΠOT. ΠOΛ. POM.** (δεσπότης πόλεως Ῥωμαίων), how far correctly I am unable to say.

2. *Obv.*—Same as No. 1 [not engraved].

Rev.—The Virgin with *nimbus* seated facing; on either side of her head $\overline{\text{MP}}$—$\overline{\Theta\text{V}}$. Concave, *Æ*.

(British Museum; cf. Sab., Pl. LIX. No. 5.)

[52] $\overline{\text{XM}}$ is frequent on the coins of this Emperor; **XMHΛ** also occurs (Sab., Pl. LIX. No. 12). It is clear that **M** is for **MIXAHΛ**, but whether the **X** is meant to be part of the same word is not so certain: probably it may be so intended.

[53] "In Andr. Pal.;" Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 268; De Saulcy, "Essai de Class. des Mon. Byz.," p. 428; Sabatier, "Mon. Byz.," vol. ii. p. 241.

3. *Obv.*—+ΑΛЄΖΙW ΔЄCΠΟΤΗ. Bust facing of Alexius I. Comnenus holding sceptre and globe *cruciger* [not engraved].

Rev.—+ΘΚЄ. ΡΟΗΘЄΙ. Virgin with *nimbus* standing facing, holding her hands raised and carrying on her chest a medallion of Christ; on either side the letters $\overline{\text{MP}}$—$\overline{\Theta\text{V}}$. Æ.

(Sab., Pl. LII. No. 8.)

The legends of obverse and reverse form one, Θεοτόκε βοήθει Ἀλεξίῳ Δεσπότῃ, *Mother of God, help the despot Alexis.*

4. *Obv.*—ΟC ΗΛΠΙΚЄ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΚΑΤΟΡΘΟΙ. Romanus IV. Diogenes standing on a cushion facing, holding a long cross and a globe *cruciger.*

Rev.—+ΠΑΡΘЄΝЄ СΟΙ ΠΟΛΥΑΙΝЄ. The Virgin with *nimbus* standing on a cushion, holding the infant Jesus with *nimbus* on cross on her left arm; on either side $\overline{\text{M}}$—$\overline{\Theta}$. Æ.

(British Museum; Sab., Pl. L. No. 15.)

The legends of obverse and reverse are again one—Πάρθενέ σοι πολύαινε ὃς ἤλπικε πάντα κατορθοῖ, *O glorious Virgin, he that trusteth in thee prospers in all things.* It will be observed that the legend forms an *hexameter* verse. Mr. King notices[54] that the only other example of a current *coin*, as distinguished from *medal*, graced with poetry is the zecchin (or ducat) of Venice, which reads in a very abbreviated and puzzling form round the figure of the Saviour, *Sit tibi Christe datus quem tu regis iste Ducatus.*

[54] "Early Christ. Num.," p. 78.

5. *Obv.*—**ЄVCЄBH MONOMAKON.** Constantine XII. Monomachus standing facing, wearing the *paludamentum*, and holding a long cross and a sword in its scabbard.

Rev.—**+ΔЄCПOINA CѠZOIC.** The Virgin with *nimbus* standing on a cushion facing, raising both hands; on either side **M͞P**—**Θ͞V.** Æ.

(British Museum; Sab., Pl. XLIX. No. 11.)

The legends of obverse and reverse here again form one —Δέσποινα σώζοις εὐσεβῆ Μονομάχον, *Lady, mayest thou preserve the pious Monomachus.* The **K** for **X** in Monomachus is clear on this coin; but the two letters are not always easy to distinguish. The word Δέσποινα, as the feminine *title* of Δεσπότης, occurs on the rare gold coins of Michael III., Theodora, and Thecla (852—856; Sab., Pl. XLIV. No. 8)—**+ ΘЄOƧORA ƧЄSPVʜA**, or **ƧЄSPOVʜA**, *Queen Theodora.*

6. *Obv.*—**+ΘЄOTOC ЬOHΘ″ IѠ′ ƧЄSP.** Bust of John I. Zimisces facing, holding in the left hand a long cross, and crowned by the Virgin with *nimbus* (half-length), above whom the letters **M͞Θ͞**; a hand descends from heaven over the Emperor.

Rev.—**+IʜS. XPS. REX REƧNANTIЧ.** Bust of Christ with *nimbus* on cross facing, holding in one hand his robe, and in the other the Gospels. Æ.

(British Museum; Sab., Pl. XLVII. No. 17.)

Obverse legend Θεοτόκε βοήθει Ἰωάννῃ δεσπότῃ, *Mother of God, help the despot John.*

7. *Obv.*—**+ΘЄOTOC′ ЬHΘ. NICHF. ƧЄSP.** Half-length figure of Virgin with *nimbus*, on either side of whom **M͞**—**Θ͞**, and of Nicephorus II. Focas, holding between them a long cross.

Rev.—Same as No. 6 [not engraved]. Æ.

(British Museum; Sab., Pl. XLVII. No. 12.)

Obverse legend Θεοτόκε βοήθει Νικηφόρῳ δεσπότῃ, *Mother of God, help the despot Nicephorus.*

8. *Obv.*—IW. ΔЄCПOTH IIIϤWƎ1 (retrograde). St. George with *nimbus* and John II. Comnenus standing holding between them a long cross.

Rev.—Christ with *nimbus* on the cross seated facing, the right hand raised, and holding in the left the Gospels; on either side of his head IC—XC. Concave, *N*.

(British Museum; cf. Sab., Pl. LIII. Nos. 15—17.)

Obverse legend Ἰωάννης δεσπότης, *John the despot,* [ὁ ἅ] Γεώργιος, [*St.*] *George.*

9. *Obv.*—ΑΛЄ. K. Alexius II. Comnenus holding a sceptre on horseback to the right; above the horse's head a star; beneath, N.

Rev.—Ⓐ. V. N. Saint Eugenius with *nimbus*, holding a cross on horseback to the right; above, a star. Æ.

(British Museum; cf. Sab., Pl. LXVIII. No. 8.)

Obverse legend Ἀλεξίος Κομνηνὸς; reverse, ὁ ἅγιος Εὐγένιος, *St. Eugenius.*

10. *Obv.*—Figure of an Emperor (John II. Comnenus, or John V. Palæologus), with *nimbus*, standing facing, holding in right hand a sceptre (or long cross), and in the left the *labarum* (surmounted by a cross), on which X.

Rev.—ЄYΛO·Є. The Virgin with *nimbus* seated, raising her right hand, and holding the infant Jesus; in front the three Magi kneeling and making offerings. Æ.

(British Museum.)

11. *Obv.*—EMMANVHL (*sic*). Bust of Christ with *nimbus cruciger* facing.

Rev.—The Virgin seated, holding the infant Jesus with *nimbus*, above his head a star; in front the three Magi bringing offerings; in the exergue two birds (? doves) facing each other. Æ.

(Coll. of Rev. S. S. Lewis.)

12. *Obv.*—**AV. KAICAP KOMOΔOC.** Head of Commodus to the right, laureate.

Rev.—**BACIΛЄVC ABΓAPOC.** Bust of Abgarus to the right with *paludamentum*, wearing on his head a cap ornamented with a diadem, on which + or **X**. Æ.

(British Museum.)

13. *Obv.*—**IMP. C. MAXENTIVS P. F. AVG.** Head of Maxentius to the right, laureate.

Rev.—**CONSERV. VRB. SVAE.** Hexastyle temple, within which a statue of Rome helmeted, seated facing, looking to left, holding globe and sceptre; on the *tympanum* of the temple **X**; in the exergue **AQ. Γ.** (Aquileiâ 3). Æ.

(British Museum.)

14. *Obv.*—Same as No. 13 [not engraved].

Rev.—Same legend and same type, but on the *tympanum* of the temple ☧. Æ.

(Coll. of the Padre Garrucci.)

F. W. M.

X.

THE COINAGES OF WESTERN EUROPE: FROM THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE TO THE ACCESSION OF CHARLEMAGNE.

III.—Coinages of the Merovingians, Visigoths, and Lombards.

We now recross the Alps and return to Gaul, returning, too, for an instant to the beginning of the sixth century after Christ. Three Teutonic sovereigns were in this country the contemporaries of Theodoric the Ostrogoth. They reigned with undefined sway, and in territories whose boundaries were constantly changing; yet we may for the present dispose them thus. North of the Loire are the Franks under Chlodvig; south of the Loire and west of the Rhone lies the kingdom of the Visigoths, who possess also nearly the whole of Spain, and whose king at this time is Alaric II. The Burgundians, under Gondobald, lie beyond the Rhone, as far east as extends the French-speaking portion of Switzerland. "The Burgundians, also (like the Visigoths) attached to the Arian heresy, lived upon the other side of the Rhone which flows by Lyons." (Greg. of Tours.)

The degree of authority which the barbarian conquerors possessed within their own territories, the rate at which

the older institutions of Roman life were absorbed into the growing life of the Middle Ages, are questions very difficult to determine. There can be no doubt that in many towns nominally included within one or other of the three kingdoms, little change of government was the immediate result of the German invasion, and that the interference of the conquerors in their constitution was confined to the imposition of taxes and to the introduction of their own legislation for the members of their own nationality. The greater towns of the south and of Aquitania, Lyons, Marseilles, Narbonne, Vienne, Arles, Toulouse, Bordeaux, retained, whether they were in Burgundy, Gothia, or France, the forms of their ancient municipal institutions. They never quite amalgamated with the institutions of feudalism, and remained all through the Middle Ages the nursery ground of what may be called Liberal politics—the contest of the cities against the seigneurs. Beside these un-German elements there lay between the three kingdoms just described a neutral territory—a *mark*, as our ancestors would have called it.[1] This district was Auvergne, the country of the Romans, as it is often described by writers of the time. It was conquered by Theodoric the Ostrasian in 539.

Owing to their greater exposure to the influence of Roman manners, the two southern kingdoms enjoyed a larger share of civilisation and refinement than fell to the lot of the Franks in the north. They became ere long completely Latinised. The fact that the limits of the ancient Burgundian kingdom are defined on the side of Switzerland by the French-speaking cantons, while the

[1] Just so our Mercia was for a long time the mark between the Angles, the Saxons, and the Welsh.

German cantons are the remains of the Alemanian land, shows how far the Burgundians had adopted the Latin language and separated themselves from their German neighbours. In the time of Gregory of Tours, "Goth" is used almost synonymously with "Roman;" and that this approach to Roman manners was not unaccompanied by a loss of German spirit, the rapid success of the Frankish arms may likewise witness. "Fear is habitual to the Goths," says Gregory,[2] and a term of extreme contempt, applied at this day only to a degraded people in certain districts of the south, is, according to reasonable conjecture, derived from the words *canis Gothicus*.[3] Thus the latest comers, the Franks of the north, like the lean kine, swallowed up the kingdoms of the Burgundians and Visigoths. "It displeases me," said Chlodvig, "that these Arians possess the fairest portion of Gaul. Let us march, with the aid of God, and when we have conquered them, subdue their country to ourselves." This was in 507. The success of the Franks tended towards a further separation of the west from Roman influence. A relationship generally of a friendly character had been kept up between the two branches of the Gothic family, the Ostrogoths of Italy and the Visigoths of Spain. These and the Burgundians were all of the Arian creed. But when the Catholic and barbarian Franks had reached the south, they became a wall of demarcation separating the Visigoths from relationship with Italy, and hedging them more and more within the limits of their western peninsula.

[2] Greg. Tur., ii. 27.

[3] Cagot, according to Marca, *Béarn*. He thinks that the term may have been applied to the Saracens as expellers of the Goths. This, however, is highly improbable.

As the Visigoths lost ground in Gaul, they gained it in Spain, where they long carried on a successful war against the Suevi, who alone opposed their mastery of the whole peninsula. Thus, when by the battle of Poitiers (507) the Visigoths lost all their possessions in Gaul, save a small district immediately to the north of the Pyrenees, they had ousted the Suevi from all their former possessions, save the territory of the modern Gallicia joined to the northern half of Portugal. Soon they entered into better relationship with the Franks. Chlotild, the daughter of Clovis, was given in marriage to Amalric, the Visigothic king. Albeit after this the two nations are frequently at war, the Frankish kingdom makes no further considerable accession towards its south-western frontier.

But to the east the era of Frankish conquest was of longer duration. The Burgundian kingdom outlived Clovis, and was put an end to by his sons Theodoric and Clotaire in 532. The son of Theodoric, Theodebert, the second king of Ostrasia and the greatest of Clovis' successors, carried his arms into Italy (539); and though the expedition was undertaken chiefly for the sake of booty, yet he seems to have for a time occupied some of the cities of the north.

Out of the four sons of Clovis—Theodoric, Clotaire, Chlodomir, and Childebert—the Merovingian line was continued only in the descendants of Clotaire, the two youngest of his brothers and Theodebald, the grandson of Theodoric, dying without children. Clotaire too had four sons. The Burgundian kingdom—now become Frankish—was reconstituted under one of them: the kingdoms of Paris, of Soissons, and of Metz remained, while Orleans was merged in the kingdom of Paris. Charibert had Paris, Chilperic

Soissons: Gontran and Sigebert had the two eastern kingdoms of Burgundy and Metz. This is the age which has gained a pre-eminence in dramatic crime among all the miserable annals of the Merovingian race.[4] "It would be difficult," says Hallam, endorsing the words of Gibbon, "to find anywhere more vice and less virtue than in the records of Merovingian history." For the purposes of the present inquiry, it is important to mark that from the death of Theodebert the era of Merovingian conquest comes to an end. It had already ceased in the direction of Spain; the door to Italy was closed when the short recovery of Italy to the sceptre of Justinian was ended by the conquests of the Lombards. The battle of Mons Lactarius, which destroyed the Ostrogothic kingdom, took place in 553. For a brief period Italy reverted to the Eastern Empire. But in 567 Narses, who had fallen into disgrace with the court of Byzantium, invited the aid of the Lombards, and the latter, under Alboin (Elfwine[5]), with their twenty thousand Saxon allies, set out from Pannonia.[6] They achieved the conquest of Italy in 572. Twenty years previously, a general of Theodebert had

[4] There is something of a grim comedy mingling with the tragic histories which lie scattered up and down the pages of Gregory; as of beings with the intellects of children inflamed with the passions of men. Witness that story of how Theodoric attempted the death of his brother Clotaire, by inviting him to a conference in a room wherein he had meant to conceal some assassins behind a curtain. But the curtain was too short, so that their legs were visible, and Clotaire got wind of the affair, and came accompanied by a great number of his own people. (G. Tur., iii. 7.)

[5] For the names of the earlier Lombard kings are, as Dr. Latham shows, almost pure Saxon names. Childebert II, was the last Merovingian who descended from the Alps. (Gibbon, v. 347.)

[6] Paulus Diaconus, ii. 5, 27.

been able to overrun the greater part of Italy.[7] From this time we hear little more of Frankish invasions of that country.

The Franks were now given up to the most bitter intestine struggles; but in spite of these, much was done towards the consolidation of the various kingdoms and towards the revival of internal administration. The down-trodden natives—variously styled Romans and Goths in the literature of the time, but no longer Gauls—raised their heads, and began to take a more and more prominent place in the administration. The part which they played may be compared with that of the lawyer-ministers under our Tudor sovereigns, or of the meanly-born civilians who absorbed the administrative power in France under the later Bourbons,[8] a part hateful to the military and territorial nobility, favourable to the kingly power. In reviving the traditions of Roman rule, these men revived as much as possible of the Roman fiscality, a burden which in earlier days had pressed so heavily upon the people, that perhaps all the terrors of Burgundian, Visigothic, and Frankish invasion scarcely outweighed the advantages of its abolition.[9] A minister of this sort, as early as the reign of Theodebert, was Parthenius, upon whose crimes and the hatred which he incurred among the Franks, Gregory descants (iii. 36); and from this account we gather that the most odious of his actions was the attempt to revive a system of taxation. Chilperic prepared a

[7] Paul. Diac., ii. 2.

[8] "I never could have believed what I saw when I was comptroller," said Law, the Scottish financier, to d'Argenson. "Do you know that this kingdom of France is governed by thirty intendants?"

[9] The burden of taxation amounted at one time to the incredible proportion of one-third of the produce of the land.

survey or census of the land and property in his dominions, and levied a tax of one amphora of wine for every half-acre of land.[10]

From this time begins a new departure in the Merovingian coinage. Owing to a circumstance which may be almost called accidental, and which will presently be detailed at greater length, a type is introduced which becomes the characteristic type of the Merovingian money until the end of the series. From this time dates not only a representative and tolerably continuous royal issue, but a large series of municipal coins bearing no name of a king, only that of the town at which, or the province in which, the piece was struck, with the name of the moneyer who struck it. Shortly after begins the first true series of Visigothic coins; and this is followed upon the other side of France by the coinage of the Lombards. Thus the separation of the different European countries is complete. The sixth century introduces us to an anonymous gold coinage, practically the same for all Western Europe; for it is imitated slavishly from the current imperial types. Two countries, Italy and Africa, separate themselves from the "European concert" by the issue of distinct series in silver and copper. These run their course without producing much influence on neighbouring countries. But before the end of the same century, we see the establishment of three distinct gold currencies, characterizing the three chief western nations, the Franks, the Visigoths, and the Lombards. These only disappear after the rise of the silver currency under the Karlings; that is, they continue to the end of

[10] Amphoram vini per aripennem, id est semi-jugerem continentem 120 pedes (Greg. Tur., v. 29). Clotaire had made an attempt to levy taxes upon church property (Greg. Tur., iv. 2).

the period which we have chosen for our numismatic study.

We now proceed to examine more in detail the numismatic changes to which the above historical sketch has been an introduction.

Before the Ostrogoths turned aside to the issue of a silver currency, they introduced some slight modifications of the existing imitative gold coinage. Theodoric placed his monogram upon coins bearing the name and effigy of Anastasius. Some changes, too, were made in the stereotyped legends, with the object, so we guessed, of showing to the initiated the place in which, or the king by whom, the coin was struck. Among these obscure mint-marks we signalized tentatively the indications of Rome, Bologna, Ravenna, Naples, Pavia, Verona. Both these methods of change find their counterparts in Gaul. Gondobald, the King of Burgundy, whose kingdom must have had considerable intercourse with Italy, though the relations of the two sovereigns could hardly have been very friendly,[11] imitated Theodoric in placing his monogram upon the solidi which he minted; and in this he was followed by his successors to the end of that short-lived dynasty. The coins of Gondobald, Sigismund, and Gondemar were given upon the first plate. We may notice that Gondobald alone among the Gaulish kings of the time attempted the issue of silver coins, the idea of which he no doubt also derived from Italy. This currency was not continued by his successors.

That the other method of distinction—the alteration of the ordinary legend of the imperial coins—was also attempted in Gaul, seems highly probable. In the laws

[11] Gondobald was the nephew and heir of Ricimer, and considered himself to have some claim to the throne of Italy.

of Gondobald we find mention made of certain coins which, being of base gold, were not to be received in his dominions. The solidi thus excepted from currency are those of Valence, of Geneva, the coins of the Goths (Visigoths), "which from the time of Alaric (II.) have been debased," and a series which it is difficult to identify, the *Ardaricanos*.[12] The Visigoths are here mentioned as already possessing a distinctive (though doubtless anonymous) series. No coin has been discovered that can be assigned to Alaric II., but the piece given in the plate may reasonably be attributed to his successor Amalaric (511—531), likewise a contemporary of Gondobald. This coin is a tremissis, bearing on the obverse the head of Justin I., and on the reverse showing the Victory in *profile*, the characteristic type, as has already been said, of the Gaulish coins. In front of the Victory is the monogram of Amalaric. (Pl. III., No. 1.)

It is of still greater interest to find that the cities had even now their independent issues of coins. The use of these civic mints is explained upon the hypothesis made in the first part of this series of papers, that the money to be paid in taxes or rent was brought in specie to the local moneyer, who minted it up to the required amount. The various towns were assessed for a certain tax, which the municipality combined to extract from the citizens and

[12] Leg. Burg. addit. secund., art. vi. Lindenbrog. Codex., leg. ant. ed., 1613, p. 807. I cannot accept M. Ch. Lenormant's reading of Arvaricanos (Armorican), as it is to the last degree improbable that the Armoricans at this date issued coins. The coin on which he reads the monogram of *Armorica* is, with most reasonable conjecture, a piece of Amalaric, the Visigoth. The reading Velentiniani is uncertain, but I am more disposed to believe the coins spoken of to have been those of the *town* of Valence than imitations of the money of Valentian III. ("R. Num.," 1851.)

then issued with their own distinctive stamp. Thus began the civic coins which mark the whole era of Merovingian supremacy. A considerable number of coins bearing the head of Anastasius I., and struck in Gaul, show letters in the field from which we may identify their mints. They correspond exactly to the coins of the same period issued in Italy, only that instead of the name being found in the legend it appears in the field. These letters are—

S for Soissons.
P for Paris.
A B for Bourges (Avaricum Bituricum).
D for Duisburg (Dispargum).
M for Metz.
B V, COL V } for Cologne (Colonia Ubiorum).
P for Poitiers.
T L for Toul (Tullum Leucorum).
L V (in monogram) for Lyons.
N for Narbonne.[13]

These attributions are fairly certain. Less safe are the mint marks which the ingenuity of M. Ch. Lenormant discovers, upon the same principle which formed the method of indicating the issue among the Italian moneyers, by making alterations in the legend itself. Among these M. Lenormant identifies a considerable series in which the legend DN ANASTASIVS PF AVGGG is altered to the form DN ANASTASIVS PF AVCCC, the initial and final C's being brought close to the body of the armed figure of the obverse type. These coins he attributes to Clovis himself. It is not necessary to follow M. Lenormant into his other attributions, which are less probable than was the

[13] Iseure, Orleans, Amiens, Tours, Toulouse, have been likewise discovered by M. Lenormant *in* the legends. They are not indicated with as much clearness as even the mints in Italy are indicated.

case with the Italian series, while some are undoubtedly wrong.

The first Merovingian king whose coins can be clearly identified is Theodebert the Ostrasian. We have seen that he made an expedition into Italy, and left one of his generals in command there. From the Italian campaign he returned with a great booty,[14] and it is very likely that at this time he began striking the coins which bear his own name—a thing hitherto unknown among the barbarian kings—instead of the name of the Roman emperor. (See Pl. III., Nos. 2—5.)

We have already quoted the passage in which Procopius complains of the insult thus put upon the majesty of the emperor. The Merovingian seems to show a greater independence than the Vandal or Ostrogoth, in that his name appears upon the gold solidi and trientes, whereas they only issued distinct series of silver and copper coins. But the act of Theodebert must be considered exceptional; he established no regular system of coinage, and his example was for a long time scarcely followed by his successors of the same race. The types of Theodebert's coins are the same as those of his contemporary Justinian, with the exception of some rare solidi struck at Cologne, which imitate probably the coins of Valentinian III.[15] (Pl. III. No. 4.) The two obverse types of the solidi are a helmeted bust, facing, holding an orb, and a similar bust turned slightly to the right, holding a spear over right shoulder; and the usual reverse type is the Victory, as seen on the coins of Anastasius or Justinian. The excep-

[14] Procopius, "De Bell. Goth.," ii. 25, and Greg. Tur., iii. 32.

[15] The type, however, is frequent between the time of Valentinian III. and Justinian.

tional coin represents the king trampling upon a prostrate foe. The trientes or tremisses show a diademed bust in profile on the obverse, and the Victory upon the reverse.

The place of mintage is shown by letters in the field. One of these places is the Italian town Bologna, shown by the letters BO. Of the French towns we have—

AN or ANTOC in monogram for Andernach.
CV or COL V for Cologne (Colonia Ubiorum).
CLAV in monogram for Laon (Laudunum Clavatum).
LV in monogram for Lyons.
*
M for Metz.
RE in monogram for Rheims.
*
T for Toul.
RI for Remagen, or Riom, in Auvergne.

Of the same type as Theodebert's tremisses, though of much inferior execution, we have a coin bearing the names of Hildebertus and Chramnus, and probably struck by Theodebert's uncle, Childebert I., and his cousin Chramnus, the son of Chlodomir, who revolted against his father and allied himself with his uncle Childebert.[16] This was in 555, that is, after the death both of Theodebert and of his son Theodebald. Childebert died in 558, so that the date of this coin is fixed within three years.

Next we have one or two coins of Sigebert I. and of Gontran of the same type. But the regular series of Merovingian money can scarcely yet be said to have begun.

For its real beginning we must pass on to the year 585. Of the four sons who divided the heritage of Clotaire, Charibert had died without issue and his kingdom had

[16] Greg. Tur., iv. 16.

been portioned among his brothers; Sigebert had been slain in 574 by one of the assassins of Fredegonde, leaving a son, who at this date had not yet attained to manhood; and Chilperic, the husband of Fredegonde, had died the same death, leaving only an infant to rule in Neustria.[17] It seemed likely that the remaining brother, Gontran—St. Gontran—would extend his rule over the whole Frankish territory. This thought was far from pleasing to some of the great towns and the great nobles of the south—many of the latter were of Roman descent—which had become more and more alienated from the barbarians of the north and west. A pretender was accordingly found to dispute the throne of Gontran, one Gundovald, called Ballomer, who claimed to be a son of Clotaire. The illegitimacy of his birth would have been no bar to succession, but he had never been acknowledged by his putative father. Nevertheless, Gundovald was invited over to Gaul—he was then living in Constantinople—by some of the nobles of Gontran's kingdom, by the Dukes Gontran-Boson, Mummolus, and Waddo, and by the Bishops Sagittarius and Theodosius. He was supplied with considerable sums of money by the Emperor Mauritius Tiberius, and, setting sail in 583, he arrived at Marseilles. It was not, however, till 585 that his enterprise began to show hopes of success. Then some of the principal cities of Poitou opened their gates to him, and Gontran, who was then on cold or hostile terms with his nephews, both of Ostrasia and Neustria, could at first make no head against the pretender. Gontran, however, came to terms with Childebert, who withdrew all help

[17] Childebert II., son of Sigebert I., was born in 570; Clotaire II., son of Chilperic, was born in 584.

from Gundovald; and the latter, whose case now became hopeless, was deserted by his allies with as much alacrity as they had shown in espousing his cause. He retreated towards the Pyrenees, and was at last besieged in the city of Comminges,[18] taken, and put to death.

This insignificant rebellion was momentous in its effects upon the coinage of Gaul. Among the coins with which Mauritius had supplied the pretender were a number bearing the name of the Eastern Emperor, but having mint marks as if struck at Marseilles. Others of the same type and an inferior fabric seem to have been actually coined in Marseilles during its occupation by Gundovald.

Mauritius was actuated probably by other motives than the motives of generosity and friendship in helping the half-Greek Gundovald to a crown. The latter was always accused of acknowledging the supremacy of the Eastern Emperor and of intending to hold the provinces which he conquered in a subjection more or less real to the latter. This want of patriotism would not be judged severely by the citizens of the south, who had few sympathies attaching them to the Frankish rule. The greater number of Gundovald's supporters were probably what would then have been called Romans.

Thus in the first issue of his coins Gundovald declared his alliance with the Greek Emperor by adopting, not the conventional Merovingian type of the Victory (as on No. 5 in this plate and Nos. 12, 13 in Pl. I.), but a new type which had a few years before replaced this Victory upon

[18] Or rather in a city which was at this siege utterly destroyed, and on the site of which Comminges was afterwards built. The account of the incursion of Gundovald is to be found in Gregory, l. viii. and Fredegarius, § ii.

the coins struck at Constantinople. The type of the cross potent in three limbs raised upon three or four steps, or at other times resting upon a ball, had been first introduced by Tiberius, the predecessor of Maurice. As regards the obverse, the rule for the Byzantine gold coins of this period is that the solidi should represent the Emperor's bust facing, wearing either a richly jewelled crown or else a helmet. On the coins of Maurice we have only the latter. The tremissis presents the bare head in profile.

The description then of the coins struck by the Emperor for the use of Gundovald, and of that second series (differing only in fabric), struck probably by Gundovald himself at Marseilles, is—

SOLIDUS.

Obv.—DN ΩAVRIC TIbPPAVC. Draped bust in helmet, facing towards left, holding spear over right shoulder.

Rev.—VICTORIA AVCCV. Cross on globe; on either side $\frac{M}{X}$ $\frac{A[S]}{XI}$; in exergue, CONOB.

N. ·85 *circ.* Wt. 3·9 grammes *circ.* "Revue Num.," 1854, Pl. XIII. No. 1.

(Pl. III. 6.)

This is the general type of the solidus. The piece thus described was probably minted in Constantinople. When imitated in the West, the legend undergoes some modifications: the letters TIB are generally omitted, and the reverse legend is divided from the type by a wreath; and the type itself shows an inferiority of execution which forbids us to confound the pieces actually struck by Gundovald with those wherewith he was furnished by Maurice.

The usual module of the pieces struck in Gaul is not, however, the solidus, but the tremissis of the type as follows:—

Obv.—DN ꝐAVRIC IVSPPA. Draped and diademed bust to right.

Rev.—VICTORIA AVSTOR. Cross on globe, on either side $\frac{M}{V}\ \frac{A}{II}$; in exergue, CONOB.

Æ. ·5 *circ.* Wt. 1·3 grammes *circ.* "Revue Num.," 1854, Pl. XIII.

(Cf. Pl. III. 7.)

In some coins of this type the cross is separated by one or more steps from the globe. It will be observed, comparing these pieces with those of Theodebert or Childebert and Chramnus, that a further distinction is made between these solidi and tremisses and the earlier Merovingian coins by the difference in weight. The older solidi weighed at the rate of 72 to the pound; that is, 84 grains of Paris (69 grains English), or about 4·47 grammes. The later solidi weighed at the rate of 84 to the pound, therefore 72 grains Paris (57 grains English), or about 3·9 grammes. The alteration in the weight of the solidus and tremissis is another feature in the marked change which the Merovingian money at this time underwent.

We have other trientes of the Marseilles type which bear the letters AR in place of MA, and were doubtless struck at Arles.

And, lastly, we must not omit the mention of another very rare coin belonging to this period, introducing a new and important type into the Merovingian series.

Obv.—DN ꝐAVRIꝺ CIVS PPAV. Diademed bust to right.

Rev.—+VIENNA DE OFFICINA LAVRENTI. Christian monogram (sometimes called "Chrisme") upon a globe; on either side, A ω.

N. ·6 *circ.* "Revue Num.," 1854, Pl. XIII., No. 11.

(Pl. III. No. 8.)

When the reverse type was thoroughly domesticated in France, the obverse type of the solidi disappears, and the coins, whether solidi or tremisses, all take the profile bust with diadem—never the helmeted bust facing. (Cf. Pl. III. 7, which is an early imitative coin of the Marseilles type, struck at Viviers [Vivarium].)

Long after the death of Gundovald, the Marseilles type was continued at that city, and probably in towns near the Mediterranean, whence (and this fact is a tribute to the importance which still remained with the cities in the south) it spread rapidly over the whole of France; or at any rate over all that part of it where the gold coinage was in use. The marked change thus brought about in the type of the French gold coins gives a means of limiting in one direction or the other the date of any Merovingian tremisses which we may chance to meet with. Whatever coins were struck by the kings who preceded the invasion of Gundovald, are of the Victory-in-profile type. A few years after the invasion the same type has almost disappeared. If, for instance, we find, as we do, the names of Clotaire and Sigebert upon coins bearing the cross upon the reverse, we have no difficulty in deciding that the pieces must not be referred to the first kings among the Merovingians who bore these names.

By the same means we have a curious indication of the way in which the coinage of the Visigoths diverged from

that of the Franks. We have noticed (p. 224) one piece of Amalaric, only distinguishable from the contemporary Merovingian money by the obscure monogram of the king. In Plate I., No. 14, a specimen was given of an absolutely anonymous Gothic coin (identified by its style only) of the kind which probably formed the bulk of the currency down till nearly the end of the sixth century. During this interval the style gradually changed, until the coins more resemble that given in Pl. III. No. 12, for these are identical in style with the earliest *autonymous* coins. Leovigild (573—586) was the first to introduce this change. He struck coins bearing his own name, at first in conjunction with that of the Emperor, but afterwards alone; and the Visigothic coinage continued to show the names of the kings until the end of the series. Now Leovigild began with the type of the Victory in profile, as shown upon the coins published by M. Heiss in his "Monnaies des Rois Wisigoths," Pl. I.

These coins are—

TREMISSES.

1. *Obv.*—DN IVSTINIAVAC. Diademed bust to right; on breast, a cross.

 Rev.—C LIVVIGILDI REGIS. Victory to right, holding wreath.

2. *Obv.*—LIVVIGILDVS R. Same type.

 Rev.—INCLITVS RCGN (or REX). Victory holding wreath and palm; in exergue, ONO.

(Cf. Pl. III. 18.)

The only known coins of Leovigild's son, San Hermenegild, are of the same kind (V. Pl. I. No. 15). San Hermenegild revolted against his father in 580, and was

put to death in 585.[19] Between 580, then, and Leovigild's death in 586, the second of this king's types was introduced. Of such is the coin given upon the plate (III., No. 14). We defer for the present the description of the rest of the Visigothic series.

We return again to France. The generosity of Maurice to Gundovald had not, we saw, the desired effect of attaching permanently any part of Southern France to the Empire; it had not even the accidental effect of preserving a similarity between the coinages of the two countries, whereby some sort of nominal subjection might be held to be implied. The Merovingian money enters from this time forward upon a completely independent career. The new types introduced are very numerous, though the bust on the obverse and the cross upon the reverse mark the vast majority of the coins. Some of the less frequent types are characteristic of the neighbourhood in which they are struck.

As regards their legends, the Merovingian coins divide themselves into two classes, those which bear the name of the king, and those which have only the name of some town (*civitas, castra*) or village (*vicus*).[20] On account of their immense number, it is impossible to give anything like a complete list of the Merovingian coins, and it is the less necessary for me to do so within this narrow space as very elaborate lists and tables are to be found in the pages of the "Revue Numismatique" (vol. v. O.S., 1840, p. 216, and the index, vol. i.—xx.) and in M. Conbrouse's valuable "Catalogue des Monnaies Nationales de France."

[19] He was deprived of all his government in the year 580, and exiled to Valencia. His few coins must have been struck in the year of his revolt.

[20] Or unwalled town.

It will be best, therefore, to give only the types of the regal coins in the most probable order of their succession, as these alone allow us to form an estimate of their date. The attribution of almost every coin given has been at one time or another disputed as between the various members of the Merovingian family who bore the name which it bears. The following list, therefore, cannot be considered as final, but it is founded upon the highest probability attainable.

MEROVINGIAN KINGS.

Clovis, d. 511.
Theodoric, 511—534. Metz.
Clotaire I., 511—561. Soissons, aft. sole king.
Childebert I., 511—553. Paris.
Clodomir, 511—524. Orleans.
Theodebert I., 534—548. Metz.
Theodebald I., 548—555. Metz.
Charibert, 561—567. Paris and Aquitaine.
Sigebert I., 561—575. Ostrasia.
Chilperic, 561—584. Soissons or Neustria.
Gontran, 561—593. Burgundy.
Childebert II., 575—596. Ostrasia.
Clotaire II., 584—628. Neustria, aft. sole king.
Gundovald Ballomer (Pretender), 585—586.
Theodebert II., 596—613. Ostrasia.
Theodoric II., 596—613. Burgundy.
Dagobert I., 622—638. Sole king.
Charibert II., 630—631. Aquitaine.
Childeric I., 631. Aquitaine.
Sigebert II., 632—656. Ostrasia.
Clovis II., 638—656. Neustria.
Clotaire III., 656—670. Burgundy, aft. sole king.
Childeric II., 660—673. Ostrasia.
Theodoric III., 670—691. Burgundy, aft. sole king.
Dagobert II., 674—679. Ostrasia.
Clovis III., 691—695. France.
Childebert III., 695—711.
Dagobert III., 711—716.
Childeric III., 716—720, deposed and restored.
Clotaire IV., 717—718.
Theodoric IV., 720—737.
Childeric III., 742—752.

THEODEBERT I.[21]

SOLIDI.

1. *Obv.*—DN THЄYDEB ERTVS PP AVG. Bust in armour and helmet, facing, holding orb with cross.

Rev.—VICTORI A VCCCA. Victory standing, facing, holding long cross and orb with cross; in field, star; in exergue, CONOB.

N. ·75. Wt. 4·4 grammes *circ.*

(Cf. Type of Justinian, Sabatier, vol. i. Pl. XII. 8.)

[21] The coins of this king preceded, as has been shown, those of his uncle, Childebert I. His coins are therefore put first in the Merovingian series.

Var. *Obv.*—DN THVODIBERTVS.

Rev.—Legend repeated and exerg. legend omitted.

(Cf. Pl. III. 2.)

2. *Obv.*—DN THϵODϵ BϵRTVS VICTOR. Bust in armour and helmet, facing towards left, holding spear over right shoulder.

Rev.—Similar; in field mm. (See p. 227)

N. Similar size and weight.

(Cf. Pl. III. 3.)

(Cf. Sabatier, vol. i. Pl. XII. No. 2.)

3. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 2.

Rev.—VICTORI A A VCCCI. Figure holding palm-branch and Victory, and trampling upon another prostrate figure; on either side $\frac{C}{L}$ O $\frac{\ast}{V}$.

N. ·8. Wt. as last.

(Pl. III. 4.)

(Cf. Cohen, vol. vi., Pl. XIX., Avitus; more probably, however, from similar coins of Valentinian III.)

TRIENTES OR TREMISSES.

4. *Obv.*—DN THϵODϵBϵRTVSC. Draped and diademed bust to right.

Rev.—VICTORIA ACCCAN. Victory to right, holding wreath; behind, star; in field, m m; in exergue, CONOB.

N. ·55 *circ.* Wt. 1·4 gramme, over.

(Cf. Pl. III. 5 [Rheims].)

A silver coin which has on obverse the legend DN TϵOD, a diademed bust facing, and on the reverse the legend $\frac{AME}{NITA}$ within wreath, has been attributed to $\frac{}{S\ D\epsilon I}$

Theodebert. It may, however, with rather more probability, be assigned to Theodahat the Ostrogoth.

Childebert and Chramnus.

TRIENS.

1. *Obv.*—HILDE BERTTVS. Draped and diademed bust to right; above head, cross.

 Rev.—CHRA MNVS. Victory to right, holding wreath; above head, cross; in exergue, CONOP.

 N. ·6. Wt. 1·47 gramme *circ.* "Revue Numis.," 1842, p. 340; 1849, p. 37, Pl. I. No. 12.

Sigebert I.

TRIENTES.

1. *Obv.*—SIGEBER TVS REX. Draped and diademed bust to right.

 Rev.—MANOBIO. Victory to right holding a globe with cross; in exergue TMO, possibly *Trev. moneta*, but more probably blundered from CONOB.

 N. ·6. Wt. 1·47 gramme *circ.* "Revue Numis.," 1844, p. 196.

Another of similar type with rev. legend TVL LO (Toul), in "R. N.," 1868, Pl. XVI.

(Saint) Gontran (?)

TRIENS.

1. *Obv.*—GVNTHACH RAMR. Draped and diademed bust to right.

 Rev.—SENONI CIVITA (Sens). Victory in chariot (?) to right, holding cross.

 N. ·55. Wt. not given.

Le Blanc, p. 44, and Conbrouse, who says that the coin is in the Sivard collection. The coin in the engravings

looks like a forgery, and as the weight is not given it is impossible to say, even if the coin be a true one, whether it could be of St. Gontran.

Childebert II.

TRIENTES.

1. *Obv.*—CHILDEBERTVS REX. Diademed bust in armour and with shield to right.

 Rev.—ARELATO CIVIT (Arles). Christian monogram, on either side of which A R.

 N. ·55 *circ.* Wt. 1·3 gramme *circ.*

2. *Obv.*—CHELDEBERT. Diademed head right.

 Rev.—AR, within which the letters CI.

 N. Le Blanc, p. 30.

3. *Obv.*—CHILDEBERTVS. Draped and diademed bust facing.

 Rev.—MARETOMOS FECIT. In centre, RE.

 N.

Marseilles Type.

4. *Obv.*—CHILDEBERTVS R. Diademed bust to right.

 Rev.—BANIS FIT. Cross raised upon ball.

 N.

The following coins were probably also struck by Childebert II. :—

Marseilles Type.

Obv.—HILDEBERTVS. Cross raised upon one step over ball.

Rev.—PETRAFICIT. Diademed bust to right.

Similar, but rev. PETFII.

Obv.—CHILDEBERTI.

Rev.—OTINIM.

Clotaire II.

SOLIDI.

Marseilles Type.

1. *Obv.*—CLO TARIVS. Diademed bust to right.
 Rev.—[CHLOT]ARI VICTORIA. Cross haussée, on either side of which M A.
 N. Wt. 3·9 grammes *circ.* Conbrouse.

 Varieties, rev. VICTVRIA MIA . . . and X XI beside ball.
 N. Wt. 3·7 grammes, over. B.M.
 (Pl. III. 9.)

TRIENTES.

Same Type.

2. *Obv.*—CLO THARIVS RE. Diademed bust to right.
 Rev.—VICTORIA GOTHICA. Cross haussee between
 M A
 V II·
 N. ·7. Wt. 1·2 gramme, over. B.M.
 (Pl. III. 10.)

Varieties of legend:

Obv.—CHLOTARIVS.

Rev.—LOTAIRI VICTVR.

Obv. and *Rev.*—CHLOTARIVS REX.

Obv.—CHLOTARIVS REX.

Rev.—VICTVRIC NIOVƆO.

Average weight, 1·3 gramme.

Obv.—CHLOTARIUS RI.

Rev.—ELGIVS MOMITA.

Wt. 1 gramme. "R. N.," 1866, p. 339.

Many of these coins have been assigned to Clotaire I. Their being of the Marseilles type quite precludes this attribution.

THEODEBERT II.

TRIENS.

1. *Obv.*—THЄODO BERTORO. Diademed bust to right.

Rev.—MANILEOBO MONET. In field A R (Arles); in exergue, CIVIS.

N. ·5. Wt. 1·3 gramme, over.

THEODORIC II (?)

TRIENS.

1. *Obv.*—TEVDERIC. Diademed head right.

Rev.—+ARAS TES. Cross forming Christian monogram (☧).

N. ·5.

DAGOBERT I. (AND II?)

It is almost impossible to separate the coins of these two monarchs, supposing that Dagobert II. struck coins with his name upon them. In this case he seems to have imitated the types of his predecessor, of which we have several coins of a very degraded style, and yet with the name of *Eligius*. As Eloi was celebrated for the beauty of the coins made by him, these specimens can hardly be classed among the number.

SOLIDI.[22]

1. *Obv.*—OBER TVSREI. Diademed bust right; cross above head.

Rev.—ЄLЄGIVS. Marseilles type.

N. Wt. 3·85 grammes, over.

[22] An extraordinary piece in the possession of MM. Rollin and Feuardent reads on the obv. REDANSO IN LEMMOVIO AGVSTO. Draped bust to right. Rev. + DOMINVS DAGOBERTVS REX FRANCORVM. Cross cantonned with IN CI VIT FIT. It weighs as much as 5¼ grammes, and therefore must be looked upon as a sort of medallion.

2. *Obv.*—CEALIT. Bust right.
Rev.—DAGOBERTVS REX. Cross ancrée, beside which EL ICI.
N. Conbrouse.

TRIENTES.

3. *Obv.*—DAGOBERTVZ. Draped and diadomed bust to right.
Rev.—ELEGIVS. Marseilles type.

Var. by letters beside cross: V C, A Ω, Ω A, VI VA.

Reverse legends of this type:—

AROIR.	REX FELICC.
CAB ONNO.	ROMANOS MACAVENSES (Mayence).
DAGOBERTVS.	ꝺIM . . . DHONI.
DEVS REX.	VICTVRIA.
GEMELLVS (obv. leg.).	
MASSILIA.	

4. *Obv.*—Legend uncertain. Draped and diadomed bust to right.
Rev.—HILDOALDVS. Square cross cantonned with A R.
N.

Another in Æ. has obv. DAGOBERTVS.

5. *Obv.*—PARISI CIV. Draped and diadomed bust to right.
Rev.—DAGOBERTVS. Cross ancrée below; on either side, ELI GI.
N. Le Blanc, p. 50.

6. *Obv.*—DAGOBERTVS REX. Diademed head to right.
Rev.—LANTOVIANOI FIT. Chalice surmounted by cross.
N. Le Blanc, p. 50.

It will be observed that some new forms of the cross are introduced in this reign, as well as another religious device, the chalice. This was due, no doubt, to the piety of St. Eligius (Eloi), the moneyer of Dagobert. The pieces which bear the name of Eligius without that of any

king, may have been struck in the reigns of Clotaire II., Dagobert I., or Clovis II.

Charibert II.

1. *Obv.*—HERIBERTVS REX. Draped and diademed bust to right.
 Rev.—MASSILIA. Marseilles type.
 Æ.

2. *Obv.*—CHARIBERTVS REX. Diademed head to right.
 Rev.—BANNACIACO FIIT (and var.) Chalice.
 Æ. ·5. Wt. 1·25 gramme.
 (Pl. III. 11.)

Var. legends: MAXIMINVS M (*Obv.*), LEVGOS MONETA (*Obv.*), TELAFIVS MONETA.

Childeric I.

(See Childeric II.)

Sigebert II.

1. *Obv.*—SIGEBERTVS REX. Draped and diademed bust to right. In front R.
 Rev.—VICTVRIA A. Marseilles type.
 Æ.
 Type of cross slightly varied.
 Var. of legend, MASSILIA.

2. *Obv.*—SIGIB . . . Similar to No. 1.
 Rev.—Chalice; in exergue, BAN.
 Æ.

Clovis II.

TRIENTES.

1. *Obv.*—CHOLOVICVS. Draped and diademed bust right.
 Rev.—ELIGIVS MO. Marseilles type.
 Æ.

Var. cross on two steps, on either side, $\frac{\text{A R}}{\text{V II}}$.

N. Wt. 1 gramme, over.

2. *Obv.*—CHLODOVEVS R. Draped and diademed bust to right.

Rev.—[PARI] SIVS IN CIVIT. Cross ancrée; on either side EL IGI.

N.

3. *Obv.*—+CHLOTHOVICHVS R. Draped bust in helmet? to right.

Rev.—MONETA PALATI. Cross chrismée on three steps (≜)

N.

4. *Obv.*—CHLODOVIVS. Draped and diademed bust to right.

Rev.—AVRILIANIϖHTVS. Even-limbed cross, on either side above, RE R.

N.

Clotaire III.

No coins can with certainty be assigned to this king, as distinguished from the coins of his predecessors with that name. There can be no doubt that the practice of striking regal coins was falling more and more into disuse, and that the issue of independent money was more and more frequent. The one coin with the name of Clotaire III. and Childeric II. is given below.

Childeric II (or I?).

SOLIDI.

1. *Obv.*—CHILDER IIVS RE. Draped and diademed bust to right; in front, $\frac{\text{E}}{\text{L}}$.

Rev.—[MASI]LI CIVITA. Marseilles type; M A beside cross potent on ball.

N. Of coarse fabric, and therefore probably of late date. See "Rev. Num.," 1845, p. 345.

Others read HILΔERICVS REX.

There are a number of pieces given by Conbrouse of the same type. In spite of the fact that Childeric I. only reigned for one year, whereas Childeric II. reigned for thirteen years, there are many reasons for doubting whether many were not struck by the first of the two Childerics. The sole type, it is to be observed, is the Marseilles type, which was prevalent in the time of Childeric I., especially in Aquitaine, where he reigned; whereas in the time of Childeric II. it had been partly superseded. Again, solidi became more and more scarce toward the end of the Merovingian dynasty, whereas many of the coins given by Conbrouse are solidi. Those with HILΔERICVS may fairly be considered late.

TRIENTES.

Obv.—CHILDERICVS REX. Diademed head to right.
Rev.—CHLOTARIVS REX. Marseilles type, M A.
N.

Var. of legend, MASILIE CIVITATIS, CIVITALI MASILLIA, CIVITATIS MASSILIE, METTIS CIV.

DAGOBERT II.

The following coin has been assigned to the second Dagobert:—

1. *Obv.*—DAGOBERTO RX. Bust in helmet to right.
Rev.—AMOLENO MOET. A cross.
N.

THEODORIC III. OR IV.?

BILLON COINAGE.

Obv.—TEVDORICI. Cross (Marseilles type) within a wreath.
Rev.—TRE in monogram (Treves?).

Var. TEVDORI.

We now get some notion of the order of the Merovingian types. Till the revolt of Gundovald, the Victory is the only one employed upon the reverse of coins. During the reigns of Childebert II. and Clotaire II. is introduced what has been described as the Marseilles type, the cross (frequently potent) raised upon a ball or upon steps, and accompanied at first by the letters M A, for Marseilles; afterwards frequently by other letters, or by none. This type completely supersedes the earlier one, and continues till almost the end of the Merovingian series. It is of course specially distinctive of the larger towns, which adhered at first to the cause of Gundovald. The Christian monogram appears in its full development first on the coin of Maurice, struck at Vienne, afterwards on that of Childebert II. struck at Arles; it appears in another form on the coins of Theodoric II., and continues to the end of the Merovingian series. Dagobert I. introduces upon his own coins two new types, the even-limbed cross and the chalice, both of which are very common upon the Merovingian trientes. Other types were introduced by his and Clotaire's moneyer, Eligius; and we must attribute to this period the great extension and variety of the independent local issues. These gradually supersede the regal coins and, still keeping their varieties of type, but degenerating in execution and weight, they close the gold issue of the Franks. Towards the latter years of the Merovingian dynasty, and under the influence of the German Mayors of the Palace, a silver coinage revives in the north of France and in the end supersedes the gold issue. The rise of this silver coinage belongs to the fourth section into which this history of the coinage of Western Europe has been divided.

The Visigoths.

The place of importance in the history of the European coinages at this epoch belongs to the Merovingian money, as from France alone came the influences which continued the coinages of the Middle Ages. The Visigoths and the Lombards left no permanent trace of their occupation. In their general character both these series adhere to the prevalent characteristics of a coinage at this time, that is, they consist almost exclusively of trientes, and contain few or no[23] silver coins. But beyond this general likeness, each series has henceforth an independent character. The exact point at which the Visigothic coinage breaks off from all connection with the Merovingian, has already been indicated. Leovigild's first type is the Victory; his second was taken from the cross haussée of Tiberius and Mauritius, not directly, probably, but through the intervention of the Marseilles type. Nevertheless, it does not closely resemble any Merovingian coin, and from this time forward all connection between the coinages of France and Spain comes to an end.

As the coinage of the Visigoths has received such an exhaustive treatment at the hands of M. Heiss, it will be unnecessary here to do more than give a list of the different types, the different kings, and the towns at which they struck.

Visigothic Types.

1. *Obv.*—Bust in profile, cross on breast.

 Rev.—Victory holding wreath and palm.

 (Cf. Pl. III. No. 18.)

[23] Few in the case of the Lombards; none in that of the Visigoths.

2. *Obv.*—Similar.
Rev.—Cross haussée on three steps.
(Cf. Pl. III. No. 14.)

(The cross on the breast disappears, the figure grows smaller, and the reverse cross grows smaller likewise, as we proceed along the row of kings.)

3. *Obv.*—Bust facing.
Rev.—Bust facing.
(Cf. Pl. III. No. 15.)

4. *Obv.*—Long cross; on either side two busts counter-gardant.
Rev.—Cruciform monogram.

LEOVIGILD (573—586).
Types 1, 2, 3.
MINTS.

Bracara ? (Braga).
Cæsaraugusta (Saragossa).
Cordoba.
Egessa (Egea de los Caballeros).
Elvora (Evora).
Emerita (Merida).
Hispalis (Seville).
Lebea ? (Lieba).
Narbona.
Portocale (Oporto).
Reccopolis (near Almonacid de Zarita).
Rhoda (Rosas).
Toletum.
Tucci ? (Martos).

RECCAREDUS I. (586—601).
Types 2, 3.

Barcinona.
Brigantium (Betanzos).
Cæsaraugusta.
Coleia (Goleia).
Contosolia (Magacela).
Cordoba.
Dertosa (Tortosa).
Egitania (Idanha Velha).
Eliberris (Elvira).
Elvora.
Emerita.
Hispalis.
Iminio (Coimbra).
[Massilia.[24]]

[24] A coin is published by M. Heiss, of the Marseilles type, and with the letters M A. There is no reason to believe that it was struck at Marseilles, only that it imitated the Merovingian coins.

Mentesa (La Guardia).
Narbona.
Oliovasio (Olibes).
Pincia (Pontes).
Portocale.
Reccopolis.
Rhoda.
Salmantica (Salamanca).
Tarraco (Tarragona).
Toletum.
Tornio. (?)
Turiaso (Tarazona).
Tude (Tuy).

LIUVA II. (601—603).
Type 3.

Barcinona.
Cæsaraugusta.
Elvora.
Emerita.
Hispalis.
Iminio.
Mandolas.
Portocalo.
Toletum.

WITTERIC (603—610).
Type 3.

Barcinona.
Biterris (Béziers).
Bracara.
Brigantium.
Caliabria (near Ciudad Rodrigo).
Catora (?).
Cæsaraugusta.
Eliberris.
Elvora.
Emerita.
Georros (Puebla de Valdeorras).
Hispalis.
Lætera (Ledra).
Lavo. (?)
Mentesa.
Narbona.
Oliovasio.
Palentucio. (?)
Saldania (Saldana).
Tarraco.
Toletum.
Tude.

GONDEMAR (610—612).
Type 3.

Cæsaraugusta.
Eliberris.
Hispalis.
Tarraco.
Toletum.
Turiaso.

SISEBUT (612—621).
Type 3.

Bergidum? (near Villa Franca del Vierzo).
Cæsaraugusta.
Egitania.
Elvora.
Emerita.
Georres.
Hispalis.
Iminio.
Lamego.
Mentesa.
Portocalo.
Senvre (Senra ?).
Saguntum (Murviedro).
Tarraco.
Toletum.
Turiaso.
Veseo (Viseu).

SUINTHILA (621—631).

Type 8.

Acci (Guardix el Viejo).
Asturica (Astorga).
Barbi (near Martos).
Cæsaraugusta.
Coleia.
Cordoba.
Eliberris.
Emerita.
Georres.
Hispalis.
Lucus (Lugo).
Mentesa.
Narbona.
Senvre.
Tarraco.
Toletum.
Tucci (Martos).
Turiaso.
Valentia.
Ventosa. (?)

SISENAND (631—636).

Type 8.

Barbi.
Cæsaraugusta.
Cordoba.
Egitania.
Emerita.
Hispalis.
Mentesa.
Narbona.
Tarraco.
Toletum.

CHINTHILA (636—640).

Types 2, 8.

Acci.
Castulona (Cazlona).
Cordoba.
Emerita.
Gerunda (Girona).
Hispalis.
Iminio.
Lucus.
Mave (Mabe-gerunda, or Mave ?).
Narbona.
Petra. (?)
Toletum.
Tucci.
Valentia.

TULGA (640—642).

Type 8.

Barbi.
Beatia (Baeza).
Cæsaraugusta.
Cordoba.
Egitania.
Emerita.
Hispalis.
Lætera.
Tarraco.
Toletum.

CHINDASUINTHE (642—649).

Type 8.

Asturica.
Aurense (Orense).
Beatia.
Bracara.
Calapa (between Moïmenta and Cualedro).
Cordoba.
Eliberris.
Emerita.
Fraucelo (Francelos).
Hispalis.
Lucus.
Mave.
Narbona.
Petra.
Saldania.
Toletum.
Toriviana (Torobia).
Tude.

CHINDASUINTHE AND RECCASUINTHE (649—653).

Type 4 (and var.).

Emerita.	Narbona.
Hispalis.	Toletum.

RECCASUINTHE (653—672).

Types 2, 3.

Bracara.	Emerita.	Tarraco.
Cordoba.	Hispalis.	Toletum.
Egitania.	Narbona.	Tudo.

WAMBA (672—680).

Type 2.

Cordoba.	Hispalis.	Toletum.
Emerita.	Tarraco.	

ERVIGIUS (680—687).

Types 2, 3 (var.).

Cæsaraugusta.	Emerita.	Tarraco.
Cordoba.	Hispalis.	Toletum.
Eliberris.	Narbona.	Tucci.
	Salmantica.	

EGICA (687—696).

Type 2 (and var.).

Acci.	Emerita.	Salmantica.
Bracara.	Gerunda.	Tarraco.
Cæsaraugusta.	Hispalis.	Toletum.
Cordoba.	Mentesa.	Valentia.
Eliberris.	Narbona.	

EGICA AND WITTIZA (696—700).

Type 4 (and var.).

Bracara.	Eliberris.	Mentesa.
Cæsaraugusta.	Emerita.	Narbona.
Cordoba.	Gerunda.	Tarraco.
Ebora.	Hispalis.	Toletum.

WITTIZA (700—710).

Type 2 (and var.).[25]

Cæsaraugusta.	Gerunda.	Narbona.
Cordoba.	Hispalis.	Tarraco.
Emerita.	Mentesa.	Toletum.

RODERIGO (710—711).

Type 2.

Egitania.	Toletum.

The history of the Visigoths ends with this monarch, who was defeated by the Arabs under Tarik at the battle of Guadaleta, 31st July, 711, when Spain passed into the hands of Mûsa-ibn-Nuseyr, Governor of Africa.

ACHILA (uncertain king, probably a rival of Roderic, 711 ?).

Type 2.

Narbona.	Tarraco.

THE LOMBARDS.

It was in 590 that Autharis (Odoacer, Otto), the third in succession from Alboin, struck his spear upon a column on the sea-shore at Rhegium, and proclaimed that as the limit of the Longobardish kingdom. With this event the era of conquest ends; but in truth the Lombards never possessed the whole of Italy, nor was the power of their kings ever supreme even in those regions which the Lombards possessed. Rome, Venice, and Naples acknowledged the exarchate of Ravenna, or, in reality, they kept up a kind of independent republic, each in their own country. In the south of Italy especially, Byzantine influences were predominant. The Germanic nations,

[25] Some of the coins of Toleto in this reign are of a new and peculiar reverse type, namely, the cross, surrounded by a crown of thorns.

too, were not accustomed to the simplicity of a united government, and the feudal chiefs who established themselves in the land soon became almost independent, and often appear as the rivals of the kings. These are the Dukes of Benevento, Spoleto, Turin, Friuli, &c., whose office, whatever its original character, soon became hereditary. The first of these, the Dukes of Benevento, after having possessed for a time the crown of Lombardy, became independent princes and issued a separate series of coins.

The kingdom attains its summit under Cunipert, Aripert, and Luitprand, the last of whom was the great law-giver or law-reviser of the Lombards. These are the kings who have given us most of the coins of the Lombard series. Soon after the death of Luitprand began a series of intestine struggles which were only ended when the arms of Charlemagne intervened in favour of the Holy See. During all the period of Lombard rule, no single family succeeded in long retaining the crown, which was always held rather by election than descent, and passed from one to another among the heads of the ducal houses.[26] Though at one time a Duke of Benevento is found upon the throne, it would seem that by the beginning of the eighth century the people of the south had very much separated themselves from the court of Pavia, and had gravitated more towards the Eastern Empire. This is shown by the coins. The Dukes or Princes of Benevento succeeded in retaining their principality for some years

[26] This condition of life, under feudal superiors with elective kings, *i.e.* leaders in battle, was the ideal condition of society among all the German nations; feudalism being, as Mayne and others have shown, little else than the development of the old Teutonic community.

after Charlemagne had seized the crown of Lombardy. Their money dovetails in with the Karling series of coins, and though the list of the coins is given here, they will be referred to again in the next part.

The coins of the Lombards are quite original in style and type, bearing no resemblance to those of the Merovingians upon the one side—except indeed the resemblance, now general in Europe, of their being struck chiefly in gold—nor to the coins of the Empire, as represented at Ravenna, upon the other side. The money of Beneventum, however, follows closely the current imperial type, and shows the relationship which existed between Southern Italy and Byzantium. In truth, Naples and Sicily were at this time Eastern and not Western.

The following are the types of the Lombard coins:—

CUNIPERT.

(Conjointly with his father, 679—688; alone, 688—700.)

(V. Paulus Diac., v. 35.)

Obv.—DN CVNI NCPeRT. Draped and diademed bust to right; in front, H.

Rev.—SCS MI HIHL. St. Michael standing towards left, holding long cross pommée and round shield.

N. ·7. Wt. ·7 gramme, *circ.*; Zanetti, "Monete d'Italia," vol. iv., Pl. I. No. 3.

(Pl. III. 16.)

Var. D before head on obverse. These letters are no doubt mint-marks, but they do not seem to be the initial of any towns where the Lombards probably had mints. Their capital was Pavia; another important town was Verona, another Lucca.

ARIPERT (701—712).

(P. D., vi. 20.)

Obv.—DNA RIPERT. Same type as last; in front, H.

Rev.—Same as last.

Æ. ·57.

LUITPRAND (712—739).

1. *Obv.*—DNLV TPRAN. Similar type, but more barbarous; in front of head, H.

Rev.—Same as last.

Æ. ·9.

2. *Obv.*—Similar; var. in front of head, T (Ticinius, Pavia ?).

Rev.—Similar, but angel wearing pointed helmet.[27]

Æ. ·9.

(Pl. III. 17.)

SILVER.

Obv.—Draped and diademed bust to right; uncertain legend NIOI A.

Rev.—Monogram of Luitprand ?

R. ·5. Wt. ·5 gramme, over.

(Pl. III. 18.)

This is the attribution of the late Count de Salis. Its likelihood depends very much upon the circumstances of its discovery. Monograms of this complicated character lend themselves to almost any interpretation, but I confess I cannot make out Luitprand from the monogram upon this coin.

ASTAULF (751—755).

GOLD.

Lucca.

Obv.—DN AISTVLF REX. In centre, even-limbed cross potent.

[27] I have little doubt that this is meant for a helmet, though the appearance of one of this shape is remarkable.

Rev.—+ FLAVIA LVCA. Flower.
N. ·65.

(Pl. III. 19.)

DESIDERIUS (756—774).

Lucca.

Obv.—+ DN DESIDER℞ R. Cross potent, as last.

Rev.—Same as last.
N. ·65.

COINS WITH UNCERTAIN MONOGRAMS.

1. *Obv.*—Monogram attributed to Ratchis (744—749), but without much probability.

 Rev.—Cross potent, surrounded by VIVIVI, &c.
 N. ·65.

2. *Obv.*—Monogram attributed with more likelihood to Athalgis (774—800).
 N. ·6.

NO KING.

Lucca.

Obv.—Same as reverse of coins of Astaulf and Desiderius.

Rev.—Same as reverse of last two coins.
N. ·65.

DUKES OF BENEVENTUM.

The type of the following coins is imitated closely from the contemporary pieces of Justinian II., and as the name of the duke who struck the coin is at first only hinted by one or more letters in the field, it will be unnecessary to repeat the description of the coins of each. In fact, here we find ourselves returning to the earlier method of indicating the name of the king who struck any coin, by placing his initial or his monogram in the field of the reverse, such as we noticed on the solidi of Theodoric the Ostrogoth and Gondobald the Burgundian. Though

by this time such a practice had been long abandoned in other parts of Europe.

SOLIDUS.

Obv.—DN IVSTNIANVS PP AVG (frequently blundered). Draped and diademed bust facing, holding orb with cross.

Rev.—VICTORIA AVG (also frequently blundered). Cross potent, raised upon four steps (Byzantine cross) in field, initial letter of Duke; in exergue CONOB.

N. ·8. Wt. 4 grammes, over.

(Pl. III. 20.)

TRIENS.

Similar type, but on reverse cross on ball over one step.

N. ·5. Wt. 1·4 gramme, *circ.*

(Pl. III. 21.)

The dukes indicated in this way seem to be—

R		Romoald II. (698—720).	G		Gisulf III. (732—749).
Mngm.		Andelas (721—722).		L	Luitprand (749—758).
	G	Gregory (722—729).		A	Arrigis (758—787, Prince, 774).
G	I	Godescalc (729—732).			

After this series we come to the coins of—

GRIMOALD III. AND CHARLEMAGNE (787—793).

SOLIDUS (of base gold).

Obv.—GRIM—+—VALD. Same type as before.

Rev.—DOMS ·⁘· CAR· R. Byzantine cross; on either side, G R; in exergue, VIC.

N. ·85. Wt. 3·9 grammes.

(Pl. III. 22.)

TRIENS (of base gold).

Same type.

N. ·6. Wt. 1·1 gramme, over.

GRIMOALD III. (independent, 793) OR GRIMOALD IV. (806—827).

SOLIDUS.

Obv.—Same.

Rev.—VICTORIA PRINCIPB. Same type. G R beside cross; in exergue, ONO.

TRIENS.

Same type.

SILVER DENARIUS (Karling standard).

1. *Obv.*—Monogram of Grimoald.

Rev.—BENE BENTV. Byzantine cross; on either side, A Ш.

Æ. ·7. (Pl. III. 23.)

GRIMOALD IV.

SILVER DENARIUS.

2. *Obv.*—GRIMOALD FILIVS ERMENRICI. Flower with branch on either side.

Rev.—ARCHANGELVS MICHAEL. Radiate cross patée.

Æ.

(Pl. III. 24.)

SIGO (827—833).

SOLIDUS.

Obv.—SIGO PRINCES. Draped and diadomed bust, holding orb as before.

Rev.—ARCHANGELVS MICHAEL. Angel standing, facing, holding cross with Christian monogram, and orb with cross; in exergue, CONO. (Var., no exergue.)

N.

TRIENS.

Obv.—Same.

Rev.—ARCHANGEL MICHAEL. Cross potent on one step; on either side S C.

N.

SILVER DENARIUS.

Obv.—+PRINCES BENEBENTI. S I G O at extremity of limbs of a cross.

Rev.—ARCHANGELVS MIHAEL. Byzantine cross.

R.

(Pl. III. 25.)

SICAREDUS (833—839).

SOLIDUS.

Obv.—+SIC ARDV. Type as of preceding prince.

Rev.—Type as of preceding prince; S I beside cross.

N.

TRIENS.

Same type.

N.

DENARIUS.

Same as of preceding prince, but name of Sicaredus arranged in monograms around cross.

R.

RADELCHIS (839—851).

SOLIDUS.

Same as of preceding princes; but RADEL CHIS on obv., and R A on rev.

N.

DENARIUS.

Obv.—RADELCHIS PRINCEPS. Flower, as on coins of Grimoald.

Rev.—ARCHANGЄ MICHAЄL. Cross, as on coins of Grimoald.

R.

C. F. KEARY.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

Numismatique de l'Orient Latin. Par G. Schlumberger. Paris, 1878. 4to, 501 pp., with 19 plates.

In this extremely handsome volume, published under the auspices of the Société de l'Orient Latin, we have the results of the labour of many years bestowed by the author on a series of coins which has always been of interest, but perhaps never more so than at the present time, when the future as well as the past history of the East is attracting so much attention. Following in the steps of M. de Saulcy, whose "Numismatique des Croisades" appeared some thirty years ago, M. Schlumberger has largely added to the scope of his work by including by the side of the coins of the Crusaders of Syria and Cyprus and their brethren of Greece and the Peloponnesus the numerous suites of coins issued in the Levant by the Knights of St. John, the Venetians, and the Genoese. He has, as he says, attempted to expound the numismatic history of the Latin races in the East during a period of five hundred years, from the first Crusade at the dawn of the twelfth century, until the fall of the last Italian colonies of the Archipelago under the Ottoman sabre in the sixteenth.

In doing this he has not only consulted the numerous authors who have written on the subject of these coins, of whom a list is prefixed to the work, but has carefully consulted the historical works more properly so called, from which to compile the story of the different princes and authorities by whom coins were struck, and to ascertain the dates to be assigned to each.

To assist him in his work the author has both travelled in the East and formed an important collection of the coins of which he treats—perhaps the most important of its kind. He has also studied the collections in London, Berlin, Vienna, and Turin, besides being in communication with the directors or owners of the other principal collections in Europe. He has, moreover, searched all the chronicles and documents of the period to which he could obtain access, with the view of finding mention, however slight, of the coins which form the subject of his work.

After such an amount of preparation we are the less surprised at the magnitude of the volume before us, which, as the author observes, is intended as a book of reference rather than as one to be read; though, wherever it is consulted, it will be found to present its information in a pleasant readable form.

The coins and their history are divided into two groups. The first comprises—1, the Principalities of Syria and Palestine,

including the Counts of Edessa, the Lords of Marach, the Princes of Antioch, the Kings of Jerusalem, the Counts of Tripoli, the secondary baronies of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and the Arab imitations of the Frankish coins; 2, the kingdom of Cyprus; 3, the dynasts of Rhodes, up to the conquest by the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem; and 4, the grand-masters of that order.

The second group is even more comprehensive, its principal headings being as follows: Kings of Salonica, Princes of Achaia, Baronies of the Morea, Dukes of Athens, Lords of the Negropont, Despots of Epirus, the Sebastocrators of Patra, the Neapolitan Princes of Epirus, the Latin Seigneurs of the Archipelago, the Genoese Lords of Chios, the Gattilusio family, the Lords of the two Phocæas, the Genoese colonies of Pera and Caffa, the Venetian colonies of the Levant, and the Turcoman coins with Latin inscriptions.

Such a list as this gives some idea of the scope of this work, and of the amount of information it contains. Although this class of coins has not been so much studied in England as it deserves to be, yet our readers will no doubt remember an interesting article on a hoard of coins found at Ephesus by Mr. Wood, which was printed in the twelfth volume of this Chronicle. In it Mr. Grueber gave an account of upwards of two thousand coins struck by the Latin rulers in the East, and we cannot do better than refer our readers back to this article to enable them to judge of the numismatic and historical importance of the series of coins of which M. Schlumberger has so exhaustively treated. Two other articles, from the pens of Mr. Fitzgerald and Mr. Pfister, which also appeared in the Numismatic Chronicle,[1] and one by Mr. Lindsay, comprise, we believe, the whole of the English bibliography of the subject. Notwithstanding the important part played by our Richard Cœur de Lion in the Crusades—whose marriage, indeed, took place in the Island of Cyprus, so recently brought under English rule—and in the Latin kingdom which he founded, no traces of English influence can be perceived on these coins; and this circumstance may, perhaps, account for the indifference hitherto displayed in this country towards them. The appearance of M. Schlumberger's book at this juncture is especially opportune; and we hope that some of our readers may, in consequence, be led to take up the study of this important branch of numismatics. When we add that the plates which illustrate M. Schlumberger's volume are engraved by Dardel, we need say no more: we may, however, mention that the publisher is M. Ernest Leroux, of Paris. J. E.

[1] Vol. viii. p. 197; vol. xv. p. 1.

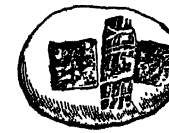
XI.

NUMISMATIC REATTRIBUTIONS.—PHANES: LAMIA: ELECTRYONA.

The numismatist who proposes the reattribution of already published coins, does so at some risk. The first publisher of a coin must in any case render some service, even if he mistake the true character and history of the monument he describes. But the republisher comes into court, as it were, with a rope round his neck. Unless he is right, he does little or nothing for the advancement of knowledge, but only wastes time. It is therefore not without much diffidence that I venture to propose certain reattributions of interesting Greek coins, a diffidence only overcome by my confidence in the verdict of those able numismatists who have already professed themselves favourable to the changes here proposed. I should add that the new attributions were in each case first suggested by remarks of one of the most careful and useful of our numismatists, Mr. H. P. Borrell, whose manuscript catalogue of the collection of the Bank of England I have frequently of late had occasion to consult, and have been compelled to assign it a high rank among original numismatic works.

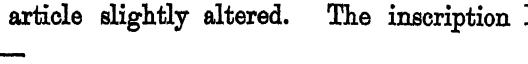
I.—Phanes.





Herodotus in his third book (ch. iv.) writes thus:—"There was, among the mercenaries of Amasis, a Halicarnassian, by name Phanes, a man of judgment and valiant in conduct. This Phanes, having some quarrel with Amasis, fled by sea from Egypt, wishing to open negotiations with Cambyses. As he was of no small account among the mercenaries, being intimately acquainted with Egypt, Amasis pursued him, making every effort to capture him." The tale proceeds that Phanes escaped from the pursuer to the court of Cambyses, and became his guide in the invasion of Egypt in the year B.C. 527 or 525. The Greek and Carian mercenaries of Amasis, being furious at the desertion of Phanes, slew his sons in camp within sight of their father. Shortly afterwards a battle took place, in which the troops of Amasis were defeated and Cambyses became master of Egypt. It is of this Phanes that I believe myself to have discovered a numismatic memorial.

The coin in question is of electrum, weighing 217·8 grains. It was published by Mr. Newton in the volume of the Numismatic Chronicle for 1870, page 237, and appears in Mr. Head's paper on electrum coins (1875), Pl. VII. No. 4. I repeat the woodcut from Mr. Newton's article slightly altered. The inscription I read thus:—



The obverse type is a stag; and on the reverse is an oblong sinking between two square ones. It will be seen on comparison that Mr. Newton read the inscription somewhat differently. He wrote it thus—ΦΑΕΝΟΒ ΕΜΙ ΣΗΜΑ, and was inclined, with the greatest hesitation, to see in ΦΑΕΝΟΡ a variant of φαέναις, which he considered as a possible genitive of φαένω, the bright one, an epithet of Artemis. He further suggested that if the coin belonged to Artemis it might have been struck at Ephesus. But he informs me that he has never been satisfied with this attribution; and I have little doubt that he would have anticipated my attribution had he known of an important fact which I have since discovered.

This fact is conveyed in a manuscript note of Mr. Borrell, the original possessor of the coin, which states that the piece was found at Budrun (Halicarnassus). An attentive examination of the piece has also led me to find in the place of ΦΑΕΝΟΡ ΦΑΝΟΣ. I doubt if there ever was a letter between the A and N; the space between those letters appearing to result from some accident to the die; but if there ever was a letter it has quite disappeared. In Mr. Head's photograph it looks as if there were two N's, but certainly only one is to be seen on the coin itself. Also I read Σ somewhat blurred in the place of R inverted.

ΦΑΝΟΣ is, however, quite a correct form for the genitive of ΦΑΝΗΣ, although ΦΑΝΕΟΣ would be the usual Ionic form. ΦΑΝΟΣ ΕΜΙ ΣΗΜΑ would mean "I am the mark or symbol of Phanes." So it seems reasonable to judge, as the coin was found at Halicarnassus and bears the name of Phanes, that it was issued by the chief mentioned by Herodotus, who may in all probability have been τύραννος of Halicarnassus, his native city, before he took

service with the Egyptian king Amasis. Herodotus does not indeed say that Phanes was tyrant of Halicarnassus, but it is intrinsically probable that he was so even apart from the conclusive evidence offered by the present coin. He was a man of great mark among the mercenaries of Amasis, and we know that Halicarnassus, as well as most of the cities on the west coast of Asia Minor, was in the sixth century under the rule of successive tyrants. What more probable than that Phanes was master of the city about B.C. 550—530, and in consequence of some civic revolt went to seek his fortune in Egypt?

It is precisely to the period B.C. 620—540 that Mr. Newton, on the evidence of its epigraphy, assigned this coin. It is interesting to compare the fashion of its inscription with that of other inscriptions dating from the same early period. Of all these the one which comes nearest to it in epigraphical character is the well-known legend cut upon the foot of a statue at Abu-Simbel in Nubia. This was engraved in memory of one of their expeditions by Greek mercenaries in the service of Psammitichus I. or II., King of Egypt, at a period not later than about B.C. 600. On comparing with it the legend of our coin, letter by letter, it appears that the alphabet used is identical, except only that the N of the coin is sloping, that of the Egyptian inscription nearly erect. To the dialectic form, on the coin, Φάνος as genitive of Φάνης, corresponds in the lapidary inscription Θεόκλος as genitive of Θεόκλης. Kirchhoff says that the alphabet used in common in the two inscriptions is the early Ionic, although some of the dialectic forms, such as that just quoted, are rather Doric. To nearly the same period belong the inscriptions cut on the statues from the sacred way at Branchidae. The alphabet employed in these is of a very

similar character to that used at Abu-Simbel, the chief difference being the introduction of Σ in the place of Ϲ. It is very interesting to observe the exact correspondence of the alphabet of Abu-Simbel with that of our coin, because Phanes also, as already observed, was an Egyptian mercenary.

The coin before us has usually been supposed to be the earliest inscribed specimen known. In assigning it to the middle of the sixth century B.C., we gain a fixed point whence to reckon backward to the origin of coinage in Asia Minor. Mr. Head, in his "Metrological Notes," gives the electrum coins of the Graeco-Asiatic standard to the period 700—520 B.C.; but the money which he assigns to the lower date has a much later appearance than our coin, which in style and fabric rather resembles the earliest of the pieces described by Mr. Head, and certainly looks far more archaic than the money given by general consent and on very good grounds to Crœsus, King of Lydia. It is possible that the coinage of Halicarnassus and Caria was later in development than that of Lydia and Ionia. I should prefer this supposition to the theory that our piece was issued at Halicarnassus half a century earlier than I have supposed by a grandfather of the Phanes of Herodotus, who, according to all Hellenic analogy, might well have the same name as his grandson. I have thought it right to mention this last theory because it would no doubt suggest itself to some of my readers; but its adoption is unnecessary, and would occasion much inconvenience in early Greek numismatics by suggesting to us a precocity and universality of coinage on the coast of Caria which we should not have expected.

II.—Lamia.

The very rare coin of Lamia in Thessaly (weight, 86 gr.), of which we give in Pl. XII. a photographic enlargement, taken from a clever cast by Mr. Augustus Ready,[1] was briefly described by Mr. Borrell in these pages (N.C., VII. page 119). This writer was completely puzzled by the head on the obverse, which he declared to be of a character quite new in Greek numismatics. A similar piece was engraved by Dr. Friedländer in the Zeitschrift für Numismatik (1878, page 16). Dr. Friedländer considers the head on the obverse, in spite of the earring, to be that of Apollo, and in the type of the reverse sees a youthful Philoctetes. Why I cannot accept this view will plainly appear presently.

Long ago Mr. Head remarked to me that the seated figure of the reverse belonged clearly by style to the period immediately succeeding Alexander the Great. I hesitated at first, on account of the great excellence of the work, to bring it down so late; but now clearly see that he was right. And, in fact, the diadem which encircles the head on our obverse indicates a time after that of Alexander. Observing this diadem, I felt sure that the head adorned by it was of no deity, but of a personage. That this personage was female was rendered clear not only by the modelling of the head, but by the prominent earring, worn by no male Greek of that time. That the head was a portrait, and a portrait of no ordinary merit, seemed quite clear when one looked at it with care.

[1] I think it right to add that this cast has been a little retouched. In the British Museum there are two specimens of this coin, both on the obverse from the same die, but both pierced. The cast is taken from one specimen, and slightly corrected by help of the other.

Of whom should this portrait be? Undoubtedly of some lady of the age of the first Diadochi, about B.C. 300. But certainly of no queen. Queens at this period would usually wear the veil, and it is quite out of the question that any one of them should appear on coins with short hair hanging straight over her neck. The fact that the present coin was issued by the people of Lamia in Thessaly, suggested to me that the person represented on it must be the notorious namesake of their city, the courtezan Lamia, and subsequent reflection has raised that suspicion almost to the rank of a certainty.

In the naval victory won by Demetrius Poliorcetes over Ptolemy on the coast of Cyprus, among the booty which fell to the winner were a number of women, and among them Lamia. She was at this time past her youth, but her charms had not faded; and by their aid and that of her wit, for she was *σφόδρα εὔθικτος καὶ ἀστικὴ πρὸς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις*, she so captivated young Demetrius that she enslaved him for life. Plutarch says that Demetrius was amatory of many women, but of Lamia alone a lover. The two were together at Athens, and Demetrius frequented the house of Lamia openly with his arms and bearing the regal diadem. On one occasion Demetrius levied a tax on the Athenians of 250 talents, and then at the request of Lamia bestowed it upon her and her friends to buy unguents. She went so far as to make requisitions on her own account, and with the proceeds entertained Demetrius at a banquet which equalled in splendour any in antiquity. The degenerate Athenians, as well as the people of Thebes, erected temples to Aphrodite Lamia, and made sacrifices in her honour. At her own expense she erected a fine stoa at Sicyon in Achaia.

The power of Demetrius was firmly fixed in Thessaly.

Some of the ancients maintained that he raised the 250 talents above mentioned not in Athens but in Thessaly. Even after Pyrrhus of Epirus had driven him out of Macedon, it was to Thessaly that he retreated, and thence he endeavoured to retrieve his fortunes. So that the people of Lamia should be willing to go any length to please him is not unnatural. It undoubtedly shows the great degradation and demoralization of the times that they should be willing to place on their coins the effigy of a *hetaira*, and even to accord her the regal diadema, but many circumstances occur to lessen our astonishment at this unique fact.

It will be remembered that Demetrius and his father Antigonus were the first of Greeks, with the exception of Alexander the Great, to adopt the diadema and the kingly title. This they did in the year B.C. 306. Three years later Demetrius was proclaimed at Corinth ἡγεμὼν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, after which proclamation he would have a sort of legal title to bear the diadema in Greece; as we know from Plutarch that he did publicly bear it at Athens. All his queens would also have the right of bearing it. Lamia was not one of his queens; but it should be added that Demetrius was a man of so irregular a life that it was hard to say who was his queen and who was not. In B.C. 303 he married Deidameia, sister of Pyrrhus, although he had at the time two wives living, Phila and Eurydice, whom he had not even divorced. In B.C. 301 he further took to wife Ptolemaïs, daughter of Ptolemy, who had long been promised to him. The Greek princes were not strict monogamists. Dionysius of Syracuse, for example, married two wives in one day. On the other hand, Plutarch distinctly calls Lamia the γαμετή of Demetrius: and her connection with him was a continuous one, and by no means dishonourable as the man-

ners of the time went. Athenæus tells how, in reply to a gibe of Lysimachus, Demetrius boasted that his Lamia lived a better and purer life than the wife—the Penelope, as he ironically called her—of Lysimachus. In another place the same writer says that Demetrius loved Lamia δαιμονίως, to distraction as we should say. And if he indulged his other favourites in "everything short of the diadema" as we are told he did, he may, in the case of Lamia, have exceeded even that limit. If Athens and Thebes were not ashamed to erect temples to Lamia, the city which bore her name might well place her head on its coins, just as Mytilene honoured the head of Sappho and Corinth that of Laïs.

Turning to the head on the obverse of our coin, what do we find? The portrait, slightly idealised but admirably executed, of a woman of a solid and noteworthy type of beauty. She is no longer young; the double chin and the lines of the neck indicate an age of at least thirty years. The features are of extreme regularity, the nose almost more than Greek in its perfect straightness. The massive features and thick neck indicate an extraordinary physical development in chest and limb of the body belonging to this head. The deep-set eye and strongly-cut lips shew character and wit. The whole aspect of the face is sensual, or, perhaps, rather sensuous; not entirely without coarseness, and yet of no low or animal type. The hair is arranged in a perfectly novel and unconventional way,[2] giving a somewhat masculine air to the head. That the hair of a queen or a matron should be thus arranged is, as I have already pointed out, not to be believed for a moment. Everything corresponds with

[2] We find the same arrangement in the head of a Mænad on the gold staters of Lampsacus.

what we should have expected in a courtezan, and the courtezan Lamia in particular.

The fashion of the hair of our heroine is the more worthy of attention, because it was the custom of the Hetairae, as Lucian tells us, to pay particular attention to the adornment of their hair (τὰς τρίχας ἐνθετίζουσαν εἰς τὸ ἑταιρικόν). On the coins of Corinth we find a very rich collection of fashions in hair-dressing, taken, no doubt, from the customs of the Corinthian Hetairae of the period. The fashion followed by Lamia seems to be, however, quite of her own setting, and well adapted to the somewhat masculine style of her beauty.

Becker, in his Charicles, remarks that the Hetairae of the Greeks were of quite a different class from the common Pornai or prostitutes, and were in many cases possessed of both wealth and wit. Their position was further improved after the time of Alexander the Great, owing partly to the general relaxation in morals which occurred at that time, and partly to the higher consideration bestowed thenceforth on women in general. Lamia would enjoy special distinction in virtue not only of the qualities she possessed, but as being the daughter of a free Athenian citizen. Nevertheless, we cannot but regard the presence of her effigy on coins as a very remarkable fact, and one worthy the attention of all who undertake the study of the ancient life of Hellas. We may add, that the present is the only surviving instance of contemporary portraiture of a Greek beauty who was not also a queen.

In the figure of the reverse of our coin I see an unmistakeable Herakles. The more usual type of the coins of the city is Philoctetes. The change was probably made with a purpose; in order to introduce under the similitude and with the attributes of Herakles a likeness of

Demetrius himself, the handsomest of the Greeks of his time. Of course, considering the scale of the representation, it would be absurd to look in this case for a real portrait, but it is likely that the engraver had in his mind a statue of young Demetrius. There is in the figure quite the air of one who is sitting for a portrait; and even the head looks like a real rather than an ideal one.

Another contemporary courtezan, Glycera, had much the same position by favour of Harpalus that Lamia obtained by favour of Demetrius. (See "Athenæus," xiii. p. 586.) "After the death of Pythionica, Harpalus sent for Glycera from Athens, who on her arrival was installed in the palace at Tarsus, and the people had to prostrate themselves before her and call her queen. No one was permitted to bestow a crown on Harpalus, without bestowing one also on Glycera. Harpalus went so far as to put up a brazen statue of her beside his own at Rhosus."

III.—Alectrona or Electryona.

Diodorus Siculus[3] relates that Helios, when he visited Rhodes, begat of the local nymph Rhodos seven sons, who were called the Heliadæ, and one daughter named Electryona. The latter, dying while yet a child, was worshipped by the Rhodians as a heroine. From an inscription found at Ialysus, and recently published by Mr. C. T. Newton in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, it appears that she possessed a temple with sacred precinct (temenos), which no horse or other beast of burden was allowed to enter, nor any person wearing an article made of hog's leather. I believe that I have found on gold and copper coins of Rhodes the head of this heroine.

[3] V. 56.

Obv.—Female head to right, wearing radiate *stephane*, necklace, and earring.

Rev.—P O. ΜΕΛΑΝΤ. Rose with bud.

Æ. Size, ·5. Wt., 31·5 grs.



This head has hitherto been taken for that of Helios himself; but its female character is quite unmistakeable. It cannot belong to the sea-nymph Rhodos, who is the daughter of Poseidon and Halia, and has no solar character whatever. Her head, enveloped in net or *sphendone* as befitted a nymph, often appears on Rhodian coins. But Electryona, or Alectrona as she is termed in the Ialysian inscription, is clearly a female solar deity, and has every right to wear a radiate crown. Her name comes from the same root as ἠλέκτωρ, a name applied by Homer to the Sun; ἤλεκτρον, or amber, and other words with solar reference. The story of Diodorus is clearly the late-born offspring of a time when all the deities of Greece were being turned into pre-historic kings and princesses, the age of Euhemerus. We can scarcely be wrong in supposing that Electryona, though degraded in later times to the rank of a heroine, was in early days a powerful sun-goddess, and a female form of the Helios of the island of Rhodes, who was never quite identified with the Greek Apollo. Mr. Newton well remarks that "the strictness with which all that was unclean was debarred from her *temenos*, seems to indicate a Semitic source for the ritual." To this it may be added, that, so far as we know, a female sun-god was foreign to the Greek mythology. Probably the Phœnicians are responsible for her origin.

PERCY GARDNER.

XII.

ON HIMYARITE AND OTHER ARABIAN IMITATIONS OF COINS OF ATHENS.

Monsieur J. P. Six ("Num. Chron.," 1877, pp. 221—230) has drawn up a list of as many as forty-four different varieties of coins which he believes, and in my judgment with good reason, to have been issued for the most part at the important city of Gaza, in the extreme southern corner of Palestine.

A large majority of these silver coins are imitations of the older Athenian money, which while Athens was supreme upon the sea, B.C. 465—412, found its way into Egypt, where there was no native currency, in exchange for corn, and to Gaza in exchange for the spices of Arabia and luxuries of various kinds from the far East.

These Athenian coins, once established as the recognised and everywhere-acceptable currency, soon began to be imitated by the peoples among whom they had from long use grown familiar; more especially when the direct trade with Athens began to languish at the conclusion of the fifth century B.C., owing to the utter ruin (for a time) of that city, and the general break-up of her far-reaching dominion and influence.

Gaza, particularly, at the head of the great southern caravan route, issued these imitations in large numbers,

and from Gaza and Petra, the wealthy capital of the Nabathæans, they found their way along the Gulf of Aïla and the Red Sea as far as the land of the Sabæans. These Sabæans, or Himyarites, were from very early times down to the sixth century of our æra a powerful and prosperous people, governed by their own kings and dwelling in the most fertile district of Arabia, which faces the Indian Ocean, and extends as far as the Persian Gulf. The highest point, however, of their wealth and power was attained by the Himyarite dynasty, which ruled between the second century B.C. and the year A.D. circ. 120, and there is good reason to suppose that the accounts which have been handed down to us of the size and magnificence of their cities, and the splendour and luxury of their royal palaces and strong places, although perhaps somewhat exaggerated, are in the main true.

But, to return to the coins. Many of the earlier Syrian and Arabian imitations are only to be distinguished from their Athenian prototypes by the barbarous character of the work, and in such cases the *provenance* of the coins is the only evidence of their origin.

Of this class of uninscribed barbarous imitations Captain Burton has lately discovered a specimen at Macna, on the Gulf of Aïla. It is an ancient plated coin copied from one of the thick Attic tetradrachms of the older style, and therefore as early as the time of Alexander the Great. Another coin, Pl. XIII. No. 17, of the same class, but of copper without any traces of plating, has been kindly sent me for exhibition this evening by the Rev. Prof. Churchill Babington. It is said to have been found by Mr. Loftus in Babylonia, whither it may have been conveyed either overland from Syria, or by way of Arabia and the Persian Gulf; the latter being the most

probable route, as it is the prototype of a series of small coins, Pl. XIII. Nos. 18—22, subsequently current in the region about the Gulf of Aïla, which I shall refer to presently.

Of about the same period, or perhaps a little earlier, are two silver coins, weighing each 82 grains, in the British Museum, which were found at Marib near Aden, and three others in Colonel Prideaux's collection. These are of the usual Athenian types, but of more careful execution, and bear the Himyaritic letter 𐩱 on the cheek of the goddess on the obverse; one of them has also Himyarite letters on the reverse, among which 𐩢 may be distinguished, Pl. XIII. Nos. 1 and 2. A third, from Bagdad, has the inscription (לבלט) in the Aramaic character. Somewhat later perhaps, but not long after Alexander's time, is a small silver coin weighing 23 grains, Pl. XIII. No. 3, procured some years ago at Aden by Colonel Prideaux, and by him presented to the British Museum. On the obverse is a head which resembles that of a young man, but which is more probably only that of Athena somewhat obliterated; and on the reverse is the Athenian owl and the Himyaritic inscriptions 𐩣𐩢𐩧𐩧𐩮𐩵.... and 𐩤 𐩺, the meaning of which I have not been able to make out even with the assistance of Colonel Prideaux's Himyaritic alphabet and learned grammar of the Sabæan language published in the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology, vols. ii. and v.

A very remarkable fact in regard to these Arab imitations is the persistency with which the Athenian owl is clung to as the distinctive characteristic of the currency, even down to comparatively late times, as I shall presently show.

All the coins I have hitherto described are of the thick

fabric which marks an early period, but those which I am now about to notice, Pl. XIII. Nos. 4—16, are of an entirely different character, although the owl is still retained as the type of the reverse. But before I describe them I will endeavour, in as few words as possible, to explain how it came about that the Athenian coinage could influence that of the Arabs for so long a period, for the presence of the amphora, on which the owl is seated, is a proof that these coins are copied from the later Athenian money.

About the year B.C. 196, and again afterwards in 168, the dominions of Athens received large additions at the hands of the Romans (Herzberg. Gesch. Gr. I. 312, 313), among which the island of Delos proved to be of the very greatest value. This island was made a Roman free port, B.C. 167, under Athenian administration, and after the fall of Rhodes and the destruction of Corinth, B.C. 146, attained to a height of commercial importance, as a centre for the trade with the East, hitherto unequalled by any city of Greece. (Strabo x. 5, 744.) The market at Delos, which resembled a huge fair, was frequented in crowds by rich merchants from Tyre[1] and the other cities of the Phœnician coast, who drove a brisk trade at this convenient station midway between Italy and Greece on the one side, and Asia on the other.

Athens, as the administrator of the island, of course supplied the necessary currency, and thus the new flat tetradrachms, first issued about 196 B.C., found their way into the money-bags of the wealthy Tyrian merchants, and through them to the ports on the coast of Phœnicia

[1] There was a guild of Phœnician merchants and ship-owners at Delos, under the protection of the Tyrian Herakles. Its name was τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Τυρίων ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων (Boeckh., "C. I. G.," ii. 2271).

and Palestine, among which, as we have already seen, Gaza was from ancient times one of the most important. This city had been more than once destroyed and again rebuilt, as is almost always the case where nature marks out a site as indispensable for the commercial intercourse of nations. To Gaza the spices of South Arabia, the gold, precious stones, ivory, sandal-wood, and woollen goods from India arrived through the land of the Sabæans, and by way of the Red Sea and the great southern caravan route across the territory of the Nabathæans; and in exchange the caravans brought back, among other products of Greece and the West, large quantities of good silver money in the shape of Athenian tetradrachms from the great central world-fair of Delos, where, as we learn from Strabo (xiv. 5, 2), among other goods, as many as ten thousand slaves for the Roman market were sometimes disembarked in the morning, and all sold before the evening. In fact, Delos was, according to Festus, "maximum emporium totius orbis terrarum."

From about B.C. 146, the date of the destruction of Corinth, down to about B.C. 88, when Delos was devastated by Menophanes, one of the admirals of Mithradates,[2] a calamity from which the island never recovered, the issue of these tetradrachms at Athens must have been on an enormous scale. Two years afterwards, B.C. 86, Athens herself was besieged and taken by Sulla, and the issue of silver money there, if not altogether prohibited, as Mommsen conjectures, was certainly much restricted. The names of the magistrates hitherto inscribed upon them in full were, as some think, at this time superseded by monograms, and the weight of the coin was slightly

[2] Pausanias, iii. 23.

reduced. These pieces nevertheless continued to be finished with considerable care, many specimens excelling in beauty of execution those of the flourishing time before B.C. 86.

These, then, supposing them to have been the latest Athenian issue, were the last coins of Athens which could have found their way into the land of the Sabæans; and when some years later they also failed, the Kings of Yemen and Hadhramaut, then at the height of their power and glory, were thrown upon their own resources for current coin, and just as, after the fall of the Athenian supremacy in B.C. 412, the scarcity of genuine Athenian money gave rise to the Eastern imitations of the thick coins of the old style which I have already noticed, so now, when Athens again ceased to coin on a large scale, in B.C. 86, a second series of Arab imitations makes its appearance, though this time the prototype is the flat coinage of the later Athenian issues.

I have brought for exhibition this evening the following varieties, which, with the exception of the gold piece, all came from a find at San'â, which consisted of about three hundred coins in all:—

CLASS I.

1. *Obv.*—Head to right, laureate, beardless, the hair arranged in stiff corkscrew curls; the whole within a wreath of laurel.

Rev.—Owl with closed wings standing, right, on amphora; above its head, ⌣; in field, left , right ; the whole in border of reels and beads.

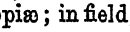
N. Size ·6 inch. Wt. 38·4 grs. Pl. XIII. No. 4.

CLASS II.

2. *Obv.*—Similar.

Rev.—. Owl with closed wings standing,

right, on amphora; in front , and object resembling cornucopiæ; in field, right, ; border of reels and beads. Æ. 1·05 inch.

15 drachms, weighing, when uninjured, 84 to 86 grs. (Pl. XIII. 5), and 2 half-drachms weighing each 40 grs. On three specimens the reverse inscription is written thus, ; Pl. XIII. 6.

3. *Obv.*—Similar, but head to left.

Rev.—Similar.

1 drachm, weighing 84 grs.

CLASS III.

4. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 1.

Rev.—Owl on amphora; in front object resembling cornucopiæ; on either side monograms  and .

14 drachms 84 to 86 grs.; Pl. XIII. 7.
4 half-drachms 42 to 44 grs; Pl. XIII. 8.

CLASS IV.

5. *Obv.*—Similar; the head on some specimens surmounted by a crescent containing a dot (Pl. XIII. 9).

Rev.—Similar, but with monograms and .

1 drachm broken. 6 half-drachms, weighing from 41 to 45 grs. Pl. XIII. 9, 10. On one specimen the letter is wanting.

CLASS V.

6. *Obv.*—Similar; head to left.

Rev.—Similar, but monograms and .

1 drachm, weighing 85 grs. Pl. XIII. 11.

CLASS VI.

7. *Obv.*—Head of Augustus, diademed and laureate, right; behind N ; the whole in wreath of laurel.

Rev.—Similar, but with monograms  and , or .

9 drachms, weighing 82 to 86 grs.; Pl. XIII. 12, 13. 3 half-drachms without letter N on obv.; wt. 41 to 43 grs.; Pl. XIII. 15. 2 quarter-drachms; wt. 20·05 grs.; Pl. XIII. 16.

8. *Obv.*—Similar; head to left; behind on one specimen ⅂ (?).

Rev.—Similar, but with monograms  and .

2 half-drachms; wt. 43 and 44 grains.

CLASS VII.

9. *Obv.*—Head of Augustus, diademed and laureate, right; behind M ; the whole in wreath of laurel.

Rev.—Similar, but with monograms  and .

1 drachm, 84 grs.; Pl. XIII. 14.

The interpretation of the inscriptions and monograms on this interesting series of coins I leave to Colonel Prideaux, who is, I believe, now at work upon them. Of one thing I am strongly persuaded, that sooner or later they will be made out, in spite of the dissimilarity of some of the characters to those which have hitherto come to light. It is perfectly conceivable that there may have been, and in my opinion highly probable that there were, two modes of writing, the one more careful and stately, used for inscriptions, and the other for documents of less importance, and for ordinary transactions.

Another point which I have not yet touched upon, but which must not be passed over in silence, is the standard

according to which these coins are accurately regulated. We might reasonably have expected that in weight, no less than in type, the coins of Athens would have been followed: but this is not the case, for the weight of the drachm (about 84 grains), which is maintained from the time of the earliest coins, about B.C. 400, down to the time of Augustus, is identical with that of the Persian siglos, which was abolished by Alexander the Great. The gold coin apparently follows the same standard. It is, therefore, almost certain that the Himyarites derived their standard for weighing silver from Babylon by way of the Persian Gulf, using it also for gold. The Perso-Babylonic silver mina of 8,645 grains (= 100 sigli of the normal weight of 86·45 grains) is thus proved to have remained in use, at any rate in South Arabia, for three centuries at least after Alexander had substituted for it the Attic standard throughout his Eastern dominions.

Of the above seven classes, the gold coin, which I have called Class I., Pl. XIII. No. 4, connects itself by the monogram  with the pieces of an earlier period. The coins of Class II., Pl. XIII. Nos. 5 and 6, also bear an inscription which is identical with that which has been already described on a little silver coin of an earlier age, Pl. XIII. No. 3. If, therefore, it contains a king's name, there must have been an earlier monarch with the same name.

The obverses of Classes I.—V., Pl. XIII. Nos. 4—11, have a head, probably of a god, which reminds us of that of Apollo on the latest coins of Lycia, which are contemporary with the late Athenian tetradrachms, but I do not assert that it is imitated from them. The arrangement of the hair on these heads may also be compared with that of the Sphinxes which are represented above one of

the Himyaritic inscriptions in the British Museum. (Catalogue of Himyarite Inscriptions, pl. iii. No. 4.)

The reverses of all seven classes are imitated from Athenian tetradrachms of a late period: whether or no from those with monograms is doubtful, but cf. Beulé, série ix., which have a cornucopiæ in the field. The object resembling a cornucopiæ on the Himyarite coins is, however, perhaps only a scroll or flourish, such as often occurs at the beginning of a phrase in Himyaritic inscriptions.

The border of reels and beads is taken, not from coins of Athens, but from Syrian tetradrachms of the same period. The word ⋖ΘΕ occurs only in Class II., perhaps the earliest of the seven. This manner of writing all three letters together, instead of A Θ E across both fields of the coin, as on the late coins of Athens, was customary on the coins of the old style. Cf. Pl. XIII. No. 1, and is here retained.

Class VI., Pl. XIII. No. 12 sqq., exchanges the head with ringlets for that of Augustus, a most valuable indication of date, proving this class to have been issued during, or soon after, the reign of that emperor. The famous expedition of Ælius Gallus into Arabia in B.C. 24 may have occasioned this change of type; or the direct commercial intercourse between the East and Puteoli, the Italian "little Delos," which superseded Delos in the trade in Oriental luxuries after the devastation of that island by Mithradates, may have brought Roman coins more and more into use in Arabia and India.[3]

[3] Puteoli was the port at which the goods from the Delian market destined for Italy were disembarked. Hence Lucilius, who died about 103 B.C., calls it Delus Minor:—

"Indo Dicæarchum populos, Delumque minorem."
Sat. iii. 8.

Class VII., Pl. XIII. No. 14, combines the head of Augustus with the monograms which distinguish Class III. In spite of this change in the type of the obverse, the old owl of Athena continues in Classes VI. and VII. to occupy the place of honour on the reverse.

How persistently the Arabs, not only in Yemen and Hadhramaut, but also in the north, clung to this type is also exemplified by a find of small copper coins, which Captain Burton has been fortunate enough to light upon during his recent explorations in the land of Midian at Macna, on the Gulf of Aïla. (Pl. XIII. 18 sqq.)

On one side of these little pieces Mr. Evans was the first to see an eye,[4] the last remaining, as being the most striking, feature of the head of Athena, and on the reverse the owl, sometimes quite distinct, and sometimes in the last stage of decomposition, nothing but the two staring eyes and a few feathers remaining. Professor Babington's coin, Pl. XIII. No. 17, supplies a link in the chain of imitations between these little pieces and their original prototypes. Pl. XIII. No. 18, especially, preserves the characteristic features of the prototype, the profile in this specimen being quite distinct.

The date of these coins is not difficult to fix, if we may judge by the fabric, which is identical with that of the small copper coins struck in Judæa during the last century before the Christian æra, and for some time afterwards.

Among them, and at first sight hardly to be distinguished from the rest, I have found coins struck by the Maccabæan princes, Alexander Jannæus and Alexander II., a coin of Herod Archelaus, and several coins

[4] The obverse side of No. 22 on the Plate has been by an oversight placed upside down.

of Tiberius, one struck in A.D. 30 by Pontius Pilate, also a few coins of the Nabathæan king, Aretas II., B.C. 7 to A.D. 40.

I think it may, therefore, be assumed that these barbarous little copper pieces with the owl were current in the northern districts of Arabia at the same time as the gold and later silver owl-money of the country ruled by the Himyarite kings in the south, and that for a space of four hundred years, or thereabouts, imitations of the coins of Athens, at first of the ancient, and later on of the new style, were from time to time fabricated in Arabia.

BARCLAY V. HEAD.

XIII.

THE PORTCULLIS GROAT OF HENRY VII.

I HAVE the pleasure of exhibiting this evening one of the rarest coins of the English series, the Portcullis groat of Henry VII. The only other specimen with which I am acquainted is that engraved in Ruding, Supplement, Plate XVI., Number 16, and cited by Hawkins, Kenyon's edition, page 267. From this coin, which is now in the British Museum, my example seems to differ in one or two minor particulars. The coin may be thus described:

Obv.—ħ∈ΠRIC ϒDI 6RΠϒR∈X⅄ΠΠ6Lϒ ⸗·FRΠΠC. Full-faced bust of the king, with a crown showing four arches; on either side of the neck a small quatrefoil or cross. The whole within a double tressure of ten arches; the two upper ones omitted to make room for the crown, the cross at the top of which occupies the place of mint-mark.

Rev.—POSVI D∈VMϒΠ DIVTOR ∈⅄M∈VMϒ. Mm., fleur de lis. On inner circle CIVI TΠS LOΠ DOΠ. Cross as usual, but in centre a portcullis of five pales and four rails, with round linked chain on either side.

Weight, 45½ gr.

On the Museum coin the crosses at the side of the neck are almost invisible, though they can just be traced. From the careful manner in which this piece has been struck and from the extreme rarity of this variety of the

groat, it appears doubtful whether it should not be regarded as a pattern-piece rather than as a coin intended for actual currency. The type is that of the second coinage of Henry (Hawkins, No. 371); but the date of the first issue of this type is uncertain. The weight is about the same as that of the ordinary groats of the second coinage of Henry VII.

The prominent manner in which the portcullis, the well-known and favourite badge of Henry VII., is brought forward on this coin renders it of considerable interest; and it may not be amiss to say a few words with regard to this device, which appears so frequently among the decorations of the Chapel of Henry VII. at Westminster. It also appears upon his tomb with the motto ALTERA SECURITAS, and it will be remembered that the same portcullis and the same motto appear on the reverse of the rare medal of Henry VIII. engraved by Evelyn (page 87), and in the Medallic History of England (Plate IV. 2). With regard to the badge upon the tomb of Henry VII. Sandford[1] observes "His monument is also adorned with the Portcullis in respect of his descent (by his mother) from the *Beauforts*, to which he added the motto ALTERA SECURITAS, its probable meaning thereby that as the *Portcullis* was an additional security to the Gate, so his descent from his mother strengthened his other titles. From this devise he also instituted another Pursuivant named *Portcullis*."

The Portcullis then was the badge of the Beaufort family, and the adoption of this device may be thus explained. John of Gaunt, fourth son of Edward III., having in the first instance married Blanche of Lancaster, his eldest son

[1] "Geneal. Hist.," p. 464.

by whom became afterwards Henry IV., took after her death Constance of Castille as his second wife, by whom he had only one child. Two years after the death of his second wife, he in 1396 scandalized the whole of his relations and the court of Richard II. by taking as his third wife Dame Katherine Swynford, of whose antecedents it will be well to give some short account. She was the daughter of Sir Payn Roet, who had been in the service of Queen Philippa of Hainault. He was subsequently herald to the Duke of Lancaster, and resided at Beaufort[2] in Anjou, about sixteen miles from Angers, the castle of which place belonged to John of Gaunt. She married Sir Otes Swynford, Knight, being of the household of the Duchess Blanche of Lancaster, and managed to ingratiate herself to such an extent with the Duke, that during the lifetime of his first and second wives Blanche of Lancaster and Constance of Castille, she was appointed "Guardianess" to his daughters, the ladies Philippa and Elizabeth, during their minority.—For this "bone et greable Service quelle nostre treschier and bien amee Dame Katherine Swynford, Maistresse de nos tresames filles," rendered to him and his daughters, John of Gaunt gave her the wardship of Bertram de Sanneby's heir, and subsequently, on September 7th, 1381, granted her an annuity of 200 marks payable out of his honour of Tickhill.

But not only was Katherine governess to two of the Duke of Lancaster's children, but, as Sandford says, as a result of his often visiting the nursery she became the mother of four more, John, Henry, Thomas, and Joan, all surnamed Beaufort, from the place of their birth, a castle which had come to the house of Lancaster through

[2] Sandford's "Geneal. Hist.," p. 253.

Blanche of Artois, Queen of Navarre, wife of Edmund the first Earl of Lancaster. There is little doubt of Katherine's husband as well as one or other of John of Gaunt's wives having been living at the time when these children were born, so that Richard III. may perhaps be pardoned for having in one of his Proclamations stigmatized Henry of Richmond's ancestors, the Beauforts, as having been born in double advouterie.

Still, after the death of Constance of Castille, John of Gaunt did all that lay in his power to re-establish the reputation of Katherine Swynford by marriage, she being then a widow; for after staying with Richard II. at King's Langley, he "rode to Lyncolle where Kateryne Swynforde's abyding was as at that tyme. And after the utas (octaves) of XII day the duke wedded the seyde Kateryne; the wheche weddyng caused mony a monnus wonderyng for, as hit was seyde, he haad holde heere longe before."[3]

The wedding took place in 1396, and the Duke's family were not a little scandalized at the event.[4] Froissart says, when this marriage was announced to the ladies of high rank in England, such as the Duchess of Gloucester (John of Gaunt's sister-in-law), the Countess of Derby (his daughter-in-law), the Countess of Arundel and others connected with the royal family, they were greatly shocked and thought the Duke much to blame. They said, "he had sadly disgraced himself by thus marrying his concubine;" and added that "since it was so, she would be the second lady in the kingdom, and the queen would be dishonourably accompanied by her; but that for their parts they would leave her to do the honours alone, for they would never enter any place where she was.

[3] "An English Chronicle," Camden Soc., 1855, p. 114.
[4] Book iv. chap. 73.

They themselves would be disgraced if they suffered such a base-born duchess, who had been the duke's concubine a long time before and during his marriages, to take precedence, and their hearts would burst with grief were it to happen." However, as Froissart goes on to say, "Catherine Rouet remained Duchess of Lancaster and second lady in England as long as she lived. She was a lady accustomed to honours, for she had been brought up at court during her youth."

Katherine died on May 10th, 1403, having seen her children legitimated by Act of Parliament in February, 1397. She was buried in Lincoln Cathedral, the scene of her second wedding, where also her daughter, Joan, Countess of Westmoreland, was interred but a few years afterwards. It is needless to trace the history of her sons, but it may be observed that the coats of arms which they had hitherto borne were then changed on their legitimation, and they assumed France and England quarterly within a bordure gobony argent and azure. Their badge of the portcullis was, as Willement[5] observes, evidently the type of the castle of Beaufort, the place of their nativity and from which they derived their surname.

To return to Henry VII., whose mother Margaret was the granddaughter of John, Katherine's eldest son. Although the portcullis seems to have been one of his favourite badges, it is rather remarkable that it does not occur as the mint-mark or type on any of his coins with the exception of this groat. On those of his successors the case is different. Not only is it a frequent mint-mark with Henry VIII., but it was in use also under Elizabeth and Charles I. On the gold sovereigns and other pieces

[5] "Regal Heraldry," p. 85.

of the sovereign type it occupies a distinguished place beneath the feet of each monarch from Henry VIII. to James I. inclusive, while on many of the smaller silver coins it forms the principal type of the obverse, in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Elizabeth and James I.

Under Elizabeth we find it used as a countermark for the testoons of Edward VI., which were valued at 4½*d.*, while the greyhound was reserved for those worth only 2¼*d.*; and about 1600, when Elizabeth was induced to strike a coinage for the use of the East India Company, the portcullis was adopted as the type of the reverse.

In more modern times we still find it surviving as the badge of the Exchequer Office, and as the principal charge in the arms of the City of Westminster and of the Borough of Harwich.

JOHN EVANS.

XIV.

NOTES TOWARDS A METALLIC HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

No. III.

MEDALS OF THE SOVEREIGNS OF GREAT BRITAIN SPECIALLY RELATING TO SCOTLAND.

NONE of the medals of James VI. struck after his accession to the throne of England bear any special reference to Scotland or Scottish events.

In the reign of his successor, the first to be specially noted is the Coronation Medal for Scotland :—

CHARLES I.

1. (*a*) *Obv.*—The king's head crowned to the left; the bust adorned with the orders of the Thistle and Garter.

CAROLVS · D : G · SCOTLÆ · ANGLIÆ · FR · ET · HIB · R ·

Rev.—A thistle growing.

◊ HINC ◊ NOSTRÆ ◊ CREVERE ◊ ROSÆ ·

In exergue— · CORON · 18 · JVNII · · 1633 · B ·

Round the edge—EX · AVRO · VT · IN · SCOTIA · REPERITVR · BRIOT · FECIT · EDINBVRGI · 1633

Metal, *N*. Æ. *Size*, $1\frac{1}{16}$ inch. = 28·5m.

Artist, Nicolas Briot. *Cabinets*, MB., Hunterian.

It is said that only three of these were struck in gold.[1] One of these is recorded as "being much worn in his Majesty's (Charles I.) pocket."[2]

Some specimens were struck in silver, with the legend round the edge unaltered. One of these is in the Cab. des Médailles in Paris, and another in my own collection.

(*b*) The common variety is as follows:—

Obv.—The king's head crowned to left, but a different die from the preceding.

CAROLVS · D : G · SCOTLÆ · ANGLIÆ · FR · ET · HIB · REX ·

It will be observed that the legend also differs in reading REX instead of R.

Rev.—A thistle growing; with legends as in (*a*).

This also occurs in silver.

In Sir James Balfour's account of the coronation of Charles I. it is recorded[3] that immediately after the ceremony "the pices of gold and silver coyned for that purpois wes flunge all the way as he went, by the Bischope of Murray, almoner for the tyme, among the people." The medal is figured by Pinkerton in his "Modallic History," Plate XV., Fig. 19, and described in the same work (p. 44) and also in the "Essay on Medals,"

[1] Pinkerton's Essay, vol. ii. p. 148.
[2] Harl. MSS. Brit. M. Lib. 4718, f. 28.
[3] "Historical Works" (1825), vol. iv. p. 408.

(1808), vol. ii. p. 147, and in Till's "Essay on English Coronation Medals" (1846), p. 13. The next medals of this reign belonging to Scotland were struck in 1639, and relate to the royal advance to the North against the Covenanters.

2. (*a*) *Obv.*—The king on horseback to the left, trampling on arms and armour.

CAROLVS · D : G · MAG · BRIT : FRAN : ET · HIB · REX ·

(Legend commencing at the bottom.)

In exergue— · 1639 ·

Rev.—A hand issuing from the clouds holding up a rose and thistle by a twisted rope.

✠ QVOS ✠ DEVS ✠

Metal, *N*. *Æ*. *Size*, $1\frac{1}{8}\frac{3}{2}$ inch.=32$^{m.}$

Artist, T. Simon. *Cabinets*, common.

[Figured in Pinkerton's "Medallic History," Pl. XVI., fig. 11, but without showing the twisting of the rope.]

(*b*) Another variety of this medal is smaller in size; has no date on the obverse; a fleur-de-lis mark in the legend, and the rope on the reverse does not show the twisting.

Obv.—As the preceding.

Legend as above, but commencing at the top with fleur-de-lis, and with no inner circle on obverse or reverse.

Rev.—As the preceding, but the rope not twisted.

Metal, *Æ*. *Size*, $1\frac{3}{16}$ inch.=27$^{m.}$

Artist, T. Simon. *Cabinets*, common.

[Figured in Pink., "Med. Hist.," Pl. XVI. f. 8.]

(*c*) Another variety has the obverse legend commencing at the top after a fleur-de-lis; no exergue.

Rev.—Same die as (*a*).

S within shoulder of cuirass on ground.

Size, $1\frac{1}{16}$ inch.=32m. *Metal*, *N*. *R*.

Artist, T. Simon. *Cabinet*, MB.

(*d*) Another variety, similar obverse, but the king wears no scarf over the armour. Reverse different die; no S on armour.

Size, $1\frac{1}{16}$ inch.=32m. *Metal*, *N*. *R*.

Artist, T. Simon. *Cabinet*, MB.

(*e*) A variety of (*b*) has T. S. in the shoulder of cuirass on the ground.—MB.

Charles II.

The coronation of Charles II. at Scone in 1651 was celebrated by a medal which is now far from common. It is of inferior work to the coronation medal of his father.

8. *Obv.*—The king's head crowned to the right, wearing the collars of the Thistle and Garter.

CAROLVS · 2 · D · G · SCO · ANG · FRA & HI · REX · FI · DE · cor · i · ia · scon · 1651 ·

Rev.—A lion supporting a three-headed thistle.

NEMO · ME · IMPVNE · LACESSET

Metal, *N*. *R*. *Size*, $1\frac{3}{16}$ inch.=31m.

Artist, unknown. *Cabinets*, MB, &c.

[Figured in Pinkerton's "Medallic Hist.," Pl. XXVI. No. 8, and described p. 77. See also Till's "Coronation Medals," p. 27.]

James II.

The only medal of this unfortunate monarch which seems to have any reference to his northern dominions, bears on the—

(4.) *Obv.*—The king's head to the right, wreathed with laurel.

JACOBUS · II · D · G · MAG · BRI · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX. A small star below the bust.

Rev.—A crowned lion lying down with sceptre and mond.

NEMO · ME · IMPUNE · LACESSET ·

In the exergue—MDCLXXXV.

Metal, Æ. *Size*, $1\frac{9}{10}$ inch. = 49m.

Artist, J. Smeltzing. *Cabinets*, MB and author.

[Figured by Pinkerton, "Med. Hist.," Pl. XXXVII. fig. 5; Van Loon, vol. iii. p. 303.]

This very rare medal is said by Hawkins to have been struck at the opening of the Scottish Parliament in April, 1685.

Anne.

1. Medals on the Union with Scotland, 1707.

(*a*) *Obv.*—The queen's bust crowned to left, with collar and star of the Garter.

ANNA · D : G · MAG : BRI : FR : ET · HIB . REG : r.c. below bust.

Rev.—The lion and unicorn supporting an altar with A.R. twice in monogram, surmounted by the union arms of Great Britain.

MAII · I · MDCCVII.

Metal, *N.* Æ. Æ. *Size*, $\frac{17}{20}$ inch. = 47m.

Artist, J. Croker. *Cabinets*, common.

(*b*) The same type and legends, but one inch in diameter and wanting the artist's initials.

There are two varieties of this. One has a loose cloak fastened at shoulder and falling in front and behind. The second has it falling behind only. See Kœrnlein's "Thes. Numis." (Nov. 1711), p. 677.

2. Medals on the French attempt to land in Scotland, 1708.

(*a*) *Obv.*—The queen's bust to left (ℛℰ below it).

ANNA · D · G · MAG · BR · FR · ET · HIB · REGINA ·

Rev.—The French fleet pursued by the English: SCOTIA named and represented in the background.

FVGERE NON FALLERE · TRIVMPHANS ·

(See Hor. Lib. iv. Od. 4, v. 52.)

In exergue—

· GALLORVM · CONATVS IN · SCO-
TIAM · ANNAE · M · VIGI-
LANTIA · ELVSI ·
CIↃIↃCCIIX ·

Round the edge the following legend—

SIC PVERI NASVM RHINOCEROTIS HABENT.

Metal, Æ. *Size*, $1\frac{9}{16}$ inch.=41m.

Artist, Croker. *Cabinets*, common.

[Figured by Van Loon, vol. v. p. 100. See also Kœrnlein, "Thes. Numis.," p. 772.]

The inscriptions on the edge of this and several other medals on this event seem to have escaped Van Loon's attention.

(*b*) *Obv.*—The queen's bust, crowned with laurel.

ANNA · D · G · MAGN : BRIT : FRANC : ET HIB : REGINA ·

(S below bust.)

Rev.—The sceptre, with a rose and thistle twining up it, surmounted by an eye; on the one side the capture of the *Salisbury* is represented; on the other, prisoners being conducted to the Tower.

QVIS NOS IMPVNE LACESSET UNITAS ·

In the exergue—

IRRITO SPURII IACOBI REDITU
IN SCOTOS CLASSE GALLICA
EXTERNATA .
MDCCVIII.

Metal, Æ. *Size*, $1\frac{11}{16}$ inch.=47·5m.

Artist, Smeltzing. *Cabinets*, MB and author.

[Van Loon, vol. iv. p. 100; Rapin, Pl. V. fig. 4.]

(*c*) *Obv.*—The queen's bust crowned to the left.

ANNA · D · G · MAG · ET · VNITÆ[4] · BRITT · [5]
FRA · ET · HIB · REGINA
(CW below bust).

Rev.—

QVOD
DEVS ET REGES
LEGITIMI
HENRICVS ROSIS
IACOBVS NOMINIBVS
ANNA REGNIS
CONIVNXERVNT
LVDOVICVS · XIV · GALL · REX
PRINCIPE SVPPOSITIO
SEPARARE . AVSVS
EST
D · XXIV · MART
MDCCVIII

[Figured in Van Loon, vol. v. p. 100, who omits the artist's initials. So also Rapin, Pl. V. fig. 5, who copies Van Loon's errors in every case.]

Edge—ANNA TERIT PELAGO PHVI ! GRANDEM CLASSE BRITANNA.

Metal, Æ. *Size*, $1\frac{7}{10}$ inch.

Artist, Christian Wermuth.

Cabinets, MB (from Bank Collection).

[4] *Sic* in Van Loon, but UNITÆ on the medal.
[5] *Sic* in Van Loon.

(*d*) *Obv.*—The same bust and legends as the obverse of (*c*); but in Van Loon's plate U in the UNITÆ of the legend is given correctly. C.W. also appears below the bust.

Rev.—Wisdom enthroned amidst the clouds, holding a sceptre in the right hand and a closed book in the left.

INITIVM SAPIENTIÆ EST TIMOR DOMINI ·
PS · CXI ·

Metal, Æ. *Size*, $1\frac{7}{10}$ inch.

Artist, Christian Wermuth. *Cabinets*, rare.

[Figured in Van Loon, vol. 5, p. 100, and Rapin, Pl. V. fig. 6.]

I have not seen an example of this medal, but in all probability there is a legend round the edge, as on the preceding one, by the same artist.

5. *Obv.*—The same head and legend, with CW below the bust.

Rev.—

HENRICVS
ROSAS ·
IACOBVS NOMINA ·
ANNA REGNA
VNIVIT · MDCCVII ·
CONFIRMAVITQ ·
FACTA IRRITA
LVD · XIV · GALL · REG ·
CONSPIRATIONE
PEP · PR · SVPP
IACOB DE WALLIS
MDCCVIII ·
I · G · I ·

Metal, Æ. *Size*, $1\frac{7}{10}$ inch.

Artist, Christian Wermuth. *Cabinets*, rare.

[Figured by Van Loon, vol. v. p. 103, and Rapin, Pl. V. fig. 9.]

6. *Obv.*—The queen's bust to left uncrowned.

ANNA · D : G : MAG : BRI : FRA : ET · HIB :
REG : (I C below.)

Rev.—An armed female figure protecting another, representing Scotland, alarmed at the French invasion; French fleet in the distance.

CLASSE · GALL · FVG ·

In exergue—

AD · FRETVM · EDENBVRG ·
XIV · MARTII ·
MDCCVIII ·

In right-hand corner, S. B.

Metal, Æ. and Æ. *Size*, $1\frac{6}{16}$ inch.=41m.

Artist, J. Croker and S. B. (?)

Cabinets, MB and author.

[See Van Loon, v. p. 103, and Rapin, Pl. V. fig. 10.]

7. *Obv.*—The queen's head crowned to the left.

ANNA · DEI · GRA : MAG : BR : PRA : ET ·
HIB : REGINA ·

Rev.—

ANNA EN HÆC ILLA EST
GALLOS DEPONERE FASTVM
QVÆ DOCET ILLA TVVM EST ·
TERRA BRITANNA IVBAR !
AVGVSTIS MAIOR PROAVIS · TOT
REGIBVS ANTE ·
PRYSTRA TENTATVM QVÆ
SVPERAVIT OPVS ·
FATALEM VALVIT MACEDO VI
SOLVERE NODVM
ARTIBVS AT PLACIDIS HÆC
DVO REGNA LIGAT ·

Metal, *Size*, $1\frac{6}{16}$ inch.=41m.

Artist, *Cabinets*,

[Figured by Van Loon, vol. v. p. 103, and Rapin, Pl. V., fig. 11; but as I have never seen an example of this medal I am unable to give any further particulars.]

8. *Obv.*—The same type and legend as the immediately preceding.

Rev.—Bellona with a trident in her hand, seated in a car drawn by horses, pursues monsters half human, half fish, with fleur-de-lis on their heads.

MIHI SORTE DATVM

In exergue—

MATVRATE FVGAM REGIQVE
HÆC DICITE VESTRO ·
NON ILLI IMPERIVM
PELAGI
1708.

The legend is taken from Virgil, *Æ.* lib. i., ver. 241-243.

Metal, *Size,*

Artist, *Cabinets,*

[Figured by Van Loon, vol. v. p. 108, and Rapin, Pl. V. fig. 12.]

I am unable to give any particulars about this medal, not having seen any example of it.

9. *Obv.*—Bust of the queen to left, laureated and with necklace.

ANNA D : G : MAG : BR : FRA : ET . HIB : REGINA ·

(An exceedingly small MB on the folds of the drapery.)

Rev.—An ass about to eat a thistle is repelled by a female figure holding out to it a rose to smell.

· INIMICVS ODOR APPETITV FORTIOR ·

In exergue—

GALLI SCOTIAM AGGRESSVRI
SOLO ANGLORVM ASPEC :
TV FVGANTVR · ·
1708 ·

Round the edge—

* INFELIX OPERAM PERDAS VT SI QVIS ASELLVM IN CAMPVM DOCEAT · HOR : SERM . L . 1 .

Metal, Æ. *Size*, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch.=48m.

Artist, Martin Brunner (?). *Cabinets*, common.

[Figured by Van Loon, vol. 5, p. 100, and Rapin, Pl. V. fig. 7.]

I am very much indebted to Mr. C. F. Keary for going over the foregoing papers on the "Metallic History of Scotland," and giving me the details of such pieces as were in the Museum collection. It is highly likely that some of the medals figured in Van Loon noted above, have inscriptions on the edge which are omitted in his work. There is also a good deal to be discovered yet regarding the artists of the various medals. Any information on these points, or regarding any medals omitted from the present series, will be gladly acknowledged by the author.

R. W. COCHRAN-PATRICK.

WOODSIDE, BEITH, N.B.,
February, 1878.

NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Baktrien und Indien. I. Historische Uebersicht. Berlin, 1878.

Dr. von Sallet's work does not pretend to much originality, or to be an exhaustive treatise on the subject of the Bactrian kings. He only attempts as a sound and critical numismatist to put together what is known for certain about them from history and the testimony of coins. He is quite aware that for a complete mastery of the subject two qualifications are required—a knowledge of Sanskrit and an accurate acquaintance with the habitat (so to speak), or the find-spots of each class of coin. For a modest work of this character there is more scope in Germany, where, since Lassen, little of importance as to the Greek kings of the far East has appeared, than in England, which possesses already the works of Wilson, Prinsep, and Cunningham. We cannot refrain from expressing, in passing, the wish that the last-mentioned writer would republish for a larger public the remarkable papers on the coins of the successors of Alexander the Great, which are as yet the exclusive possession of the members of the Numismatic Society.

In his first part Dr. von Sallet treats of the historical data for a history of the Greek kings of the far East which are furnished both by ancient writers and extant monuments. His task consists of little more than a critical arrangement of existing materials. But the introduction of severe criticism, combined with a somewhat sceptical tendency, into the field of Bactrian numismatics, has had in many respects a revolutionary result. We will postpone, until the remainder of Dr. von Sallet's work appears, all detailed criticism of his scheme of arrangement and his general results. Meanwhile, we are glad to see him make war on such barbarous forms as Philoxenes (Philoxenus), Menandrus (Menander), Azas (Azes), and so forth, forms which give an unscholarly air to some of our best works on Bactrian numismatics. P. G.

A Guide to the select Greek, Roman, and other Coins exhibited in Electrotype in Brighton College. By F. W. Madden.

This little book is quite on the model of Mr. Head's "Guide to the Select Greek Coins" of the British Museum, from which, indeed, it is very largely borrowed. Its object is praiseworthy: namely, to make coins of use in classical education. The selection also is, on the whole, fairly representative. But the eye

of the scholar would, perhaps, have been better trained, and his memory not worse, if Mr. Madden had adopted a better system of arrangement than one merely geographical; if he had begun with the earliest coins issued in Asia Minor, and so gradually traced the art of coining through Greece and Italy into the far West. Mr. Madden's system of spelling is also unfortunate. Kuros is a correct transliteration, and Cyrus consecrated by usage; but Cyros, as Mr. Madden writes it, is absurd, the whole accent falling, when an Englishman reads it, on the *os*, which the Greeks scarcely pronounced at all. There can be little doubt that the French Patrocle and Ephèse represent the Greek pronunciation better than Patroclos and Ephesos; but perhaps our Patroclus and Ephesus, where the final *u* quite disappears, are best of all. P. G.

Monnaies d'argent frappées à Héraclea de Bithynie. Par H. Ferdinand Bompois. Paris, 1878. *Quelques monnaies anépigraphes attribuées indûment à la ville de Maronea en Thrace.* Par H. Ferdinand Bompois. Paris, 1878.

These are two very carefully-reasoned papers, and possess, like M. Bompois' other works, the advantage of good printing, thick paper, and careful revision. The only drawback to M. Bompois' elaborate papers is that, as the life of man is limited to threescore years and ten, they claim rather too large a share of it. The first of the two treatises we have mentioned attempts to arrange the coins of Heraclea in chronological sequence. It busies itself especially with the letter K, which often occurs on them. M. Bompois holds this letter to stand for the name of Clearchus, tyrant of the city, and father of Timotheus and Dionysius, whose Heraclean coins are well known. In the second paper M. Bompois discusses the attribution of the archaic coins which bear on the obverse the forepart of a galloping horse, on the reverse two incuse squares with a flower in each. These pieces have been attributed by Sestini to Clazomenæ, by Allier de Hauteroche to Maronea, and by Mionnet and Brandis to Cyme in Aeolis. M. Bompois accepts this last attribution, and seeks to establish it by the aid of a specimen in his own collection, on which he sees the letters **K Y**. Unfortunately he does not, however, seem quite certain as to the reading of these letters, and in his woodcut they have a somewhat unsatisfactory appearance. In the coins of the same type in the British Museum, there is something in the field, but not **K Y**: all which does not prevent the attribution to Cyme from being at least as likely as any other.

P. G.

MISCELLANEA.

To the Editor of the "Numismatic Chronicle."

SIR,—Referring to my Paper upon "English Tin Coins," published in the Numismatic Chronicle last year (N.S., vol. xvii. p. 358), I have the pleasure of communicating to the Society four additional coins, which have come into my possession since writing the Paper in question.

The pieces may be briefly described as follows:—

1. Halfpenny of William and Mary, similar to those previously described, except as to date, which is 1691 on the exergue, and 1692 on the edge.

2. Halfpenny of the same reign, with date 1691 on edge and in exergue. The peculiarity of this coin lies in the portraits, which are totally unlike the current types, being of coarser workmanship. I apprehend, however, that it is a genuine coin.

3. Farthing, also of the same reign, of the date 1692, both on edge and in exergue, but differing from No. 3 of my Paper in the date, which has much smaller figures, and the presence of a dot after the word BRITANNIA.

4. Pattern Halfpenny. *Obv.* busts to left. GVLIELMVS · ET · MARIA · D · G · *Rev.* two hands coming from clouds at the sides, and holding a sceptre crowned. IVNGIT · AMOR · PATRIÆQ · SALVS · This halfpenny occurs in silver, and, far more rarely, in copper; but I have never before seen it in tin.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,
RICHARD A. HOBLYN.

2, SUSSEX PLACE, REGENT'S PARK,
October 17th, 1878.

BISHAM TREASURE-TROVE.—The following is an analysis of a hoard of 218 gold coins found at Bisham Abbey, Berkshire, the property of George Vansittart, Esq.

Henry V.; noble; annulet to left of figure; lis after ḢENRIC; trefoils between words	1
Edward IV.; rials; trefoils between words	5
Do. rial; mint-mark, sun	1

Henry VII.; angel; mint-mark, pheon 1

Do. half-angel; mint-mark, pheon 1

Henry VIII.; half-sovereigns 134
viz.:

	MINT-MARKS. ⊙	S	W (Bristol.)	Uncert.	Total
Var. 1. *Obv.*—hENRIC' . 8 : D' . G ΠGL' · FRΛNCIG Z hIB'. RGX. *Rev.*—IhS . AVTG TRΛNSIGNS . PGR ΩGD' : ILLOR' . IBΛT. . .	15	7	2	1	25
Var. 2. *Obv.*—Same. *Rev.*—IHS ? AVTE' TRANSI' . PER ΩGD' . ILLOR' . IBAT . . .	1				1
Var. 3. *Obv.*—Same. *Rev.*—As last; but, MED	2	2			4
Var. 4. *Obv.*—HENRIC 8 D . G . AGL . FRANCI' . Z HIB' . REX. *Rev.*—Same as in No. 1		3			3
Var. 5. *Obv.*—Var. two C's only Gothic. *Rev.*—Same	4	9			13
Var. 6. *Obv.*—HENRIC' . 8 . D' . G' . ΠGL FRΛNCI' . Z HIB' . REX. *Rev.*—IHS . AVTE' . TRANSIG' . PGR ΩGD' . ILLOR' . IBAT. . .	1				1
Var. 7. *Obv.*—Same as No. 6. *Rev.*—Same as No. 3	2				2
Var. 8. *Obv.*—HENRIC' . 8 D' . G' . AGL' . FRANCI' . Z . HIB . REX. *Rev.*—Same as No. 3.	1	3			4
					53

Having young figure on obv. (Edward VI?)

Var. 9. *Obv.*—HENRIC . 8 . D . G . AGL . FRANC . Z . HIB . REX. *Rev.*—Same as No. 3. Mint-marks—E, 13; G, 1; martlet, 9; lis, 3; pheon, 27; grapnel (?), 2; saltire, 9; uncertain, 6; none, 11. Total 81

Henry VIII.; crowns 25
viz.:

Var. 1. *Obv.*—HENRIC' . 8 RVTILA . ROSA . SINE : SPI (varied). *Rev.*—DEI GRA AGL FRA Z HIB REX. Mint-marks—martlet, 1; pheon, 3; dagger, 3. Total 7

Var. 2. *Obv.*—ɧENRIC' 8 ROSA SINE SPINE (*sic*) or SPIN.
Rev.—DEI : GRA : AGL : FRANC : Z : ɧIB : REX.
Mint-mark, ⊙ 3

Var. 3. *Obv.*—Same legend; var. quatrefoil after ROSA; trefoil slipped after SPINE.
Rev.—Similar; var. D . G ANGLIE, &c. Mint-mark (rev. only) ψ 4

Var. 4. *Obv.*—ɧENRIC : VIII ROSA (quatrefoil) SINE . SPINE (quatrefoil).
Rev.—D . G . ANGLIE (quatrefoil) FRAN' . Z . ɧIB . REX. Mint-mark (rev. only) ψ 4

Var. 5. *Obv.*—Same legend; var. quatrefoil saltire-wise after VIII.; cinquefoil at end.
Rev.—Same as No. 4 1

Var. 6. *Obv.*—Same as No. 5.
Rev.—Similar to No. 4; var. ANGL, cinquefoil at end . . 6

Edward VI.; sovereign. Mint-mark, Y; cinquefoil at end of obv. inscr. 1

Edward VI.; half-sovereigns 28
viz.:

Type 1. Throned, in long robes. Mint-mark, E 1

Type 2. Crowned bust. Mint-marks—Y, 4; pheon, 1; duck, 9; grapnel, 1 15

Type 3. Bareheaded bust. Mint-marks—Y, 4; pheon, 8 . . . 12

Elizabeth; half-sovereign. Mint-marks—cross crosslet, 9; rose, 1 . . 10

Elizabeth; half-crown. Mint-mark—cross crosslet, 2 2

Foreign Coins.

Italy, Venice. Francesco Venerio (1554—1556); zecchino 1

Spain, Kingdom. Ferdinand and Isabella (Heiss, i. Pl. 20, No. 65, &c.). 6

Spain, Barcelona. Joanna and Charles (V.) (1521); corona (Heiss, ii. p. 92, No. 3) 1

Portugal. D. Manuel (1495—1521); Portoguez d'ouro of 10 crusados (Fernandes, p. 113) 1

C. F. K.

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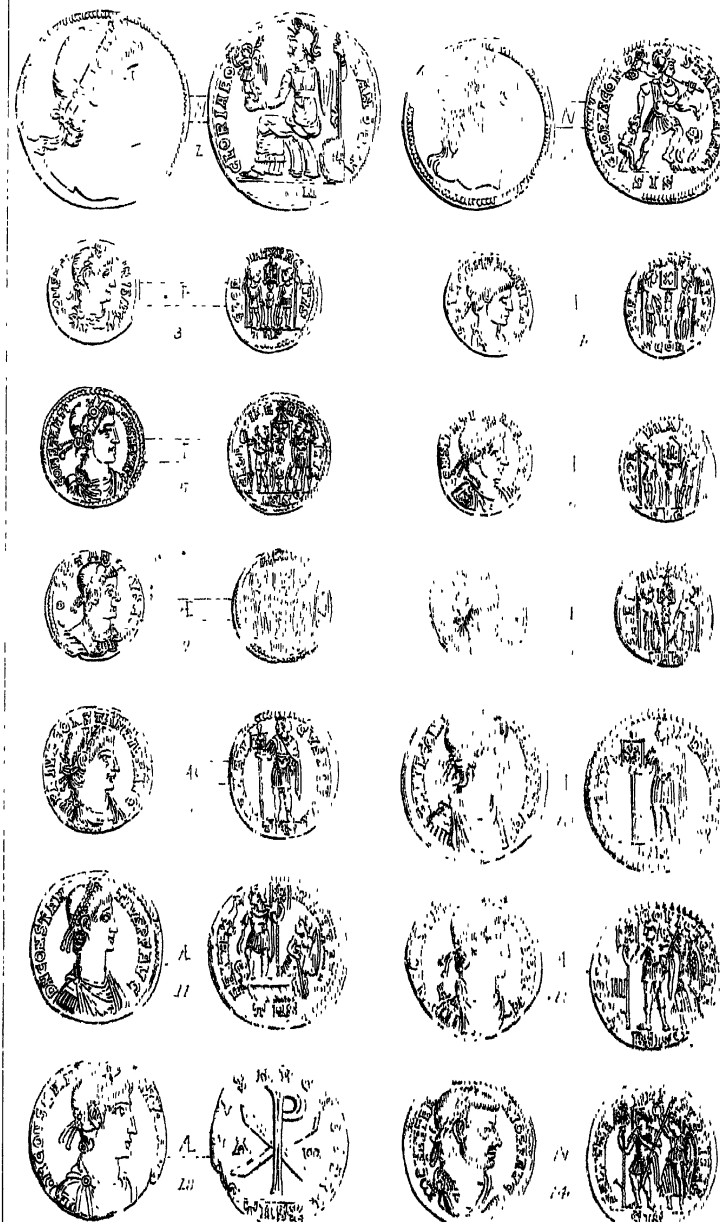
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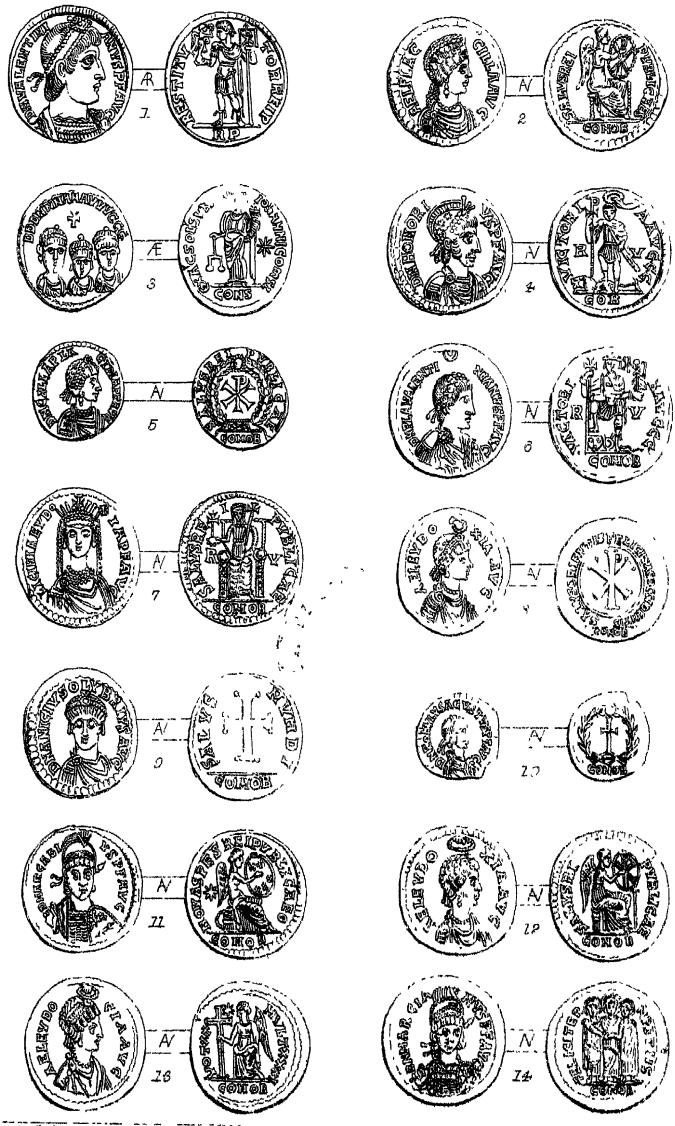
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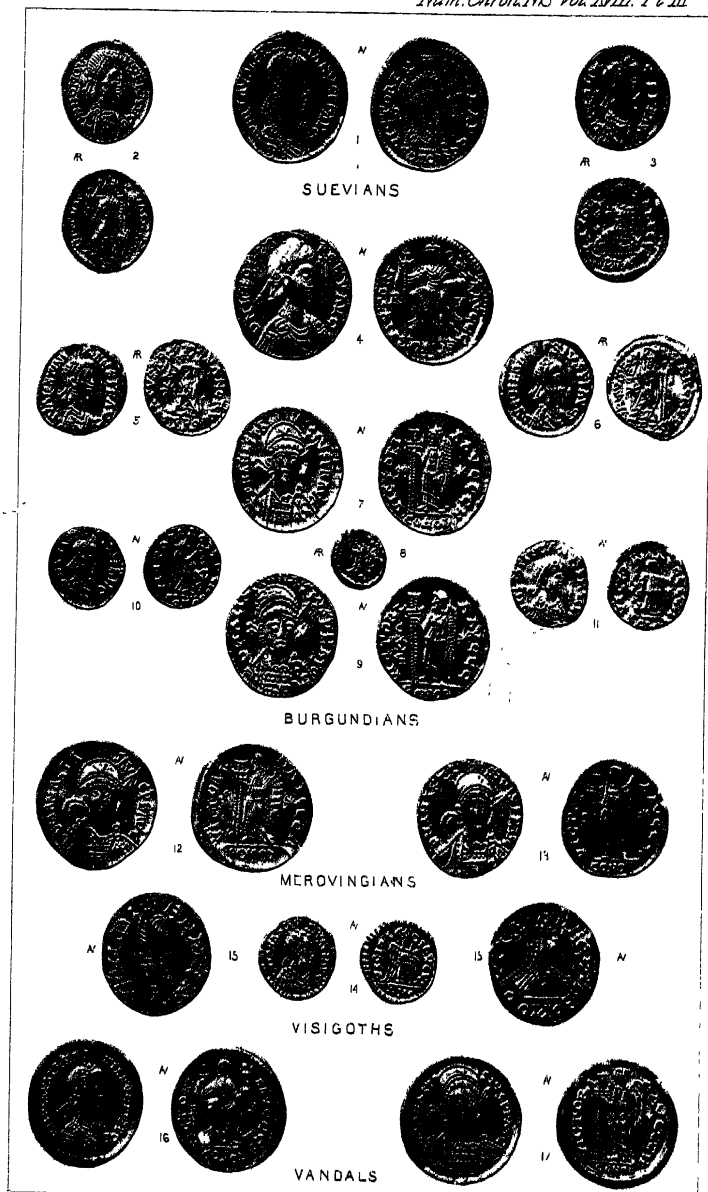
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CHRISTIAN EMBLEMS
ON COINS OF THE SUCCESSORS OF CONSTANTINE I ETC.
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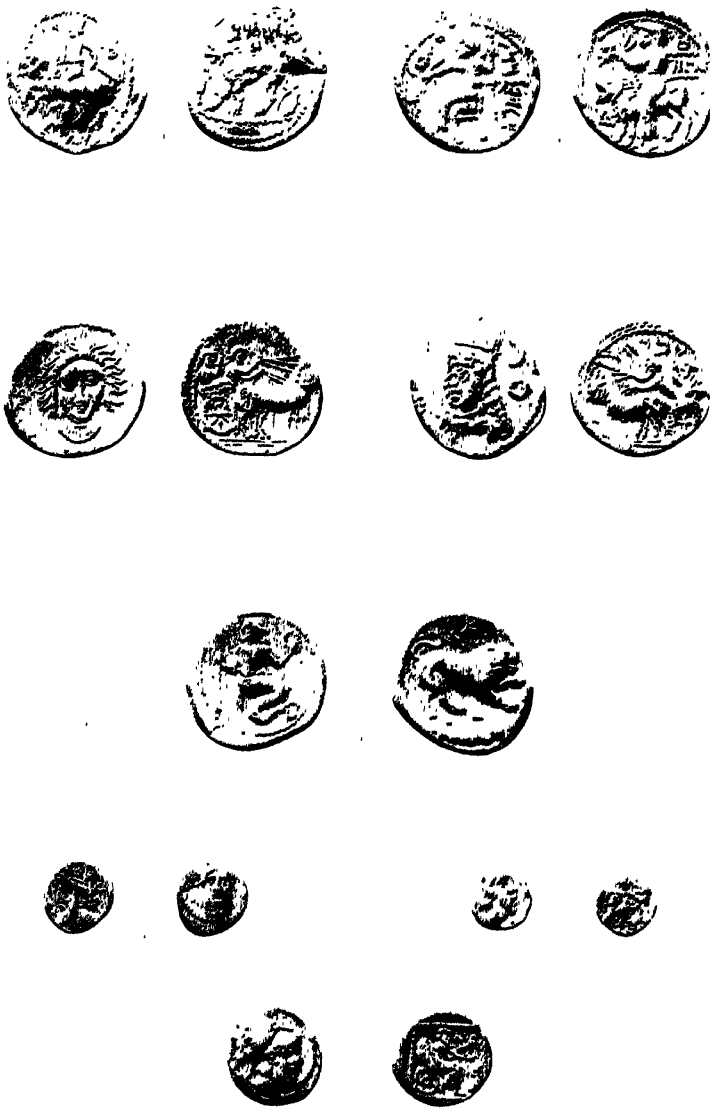


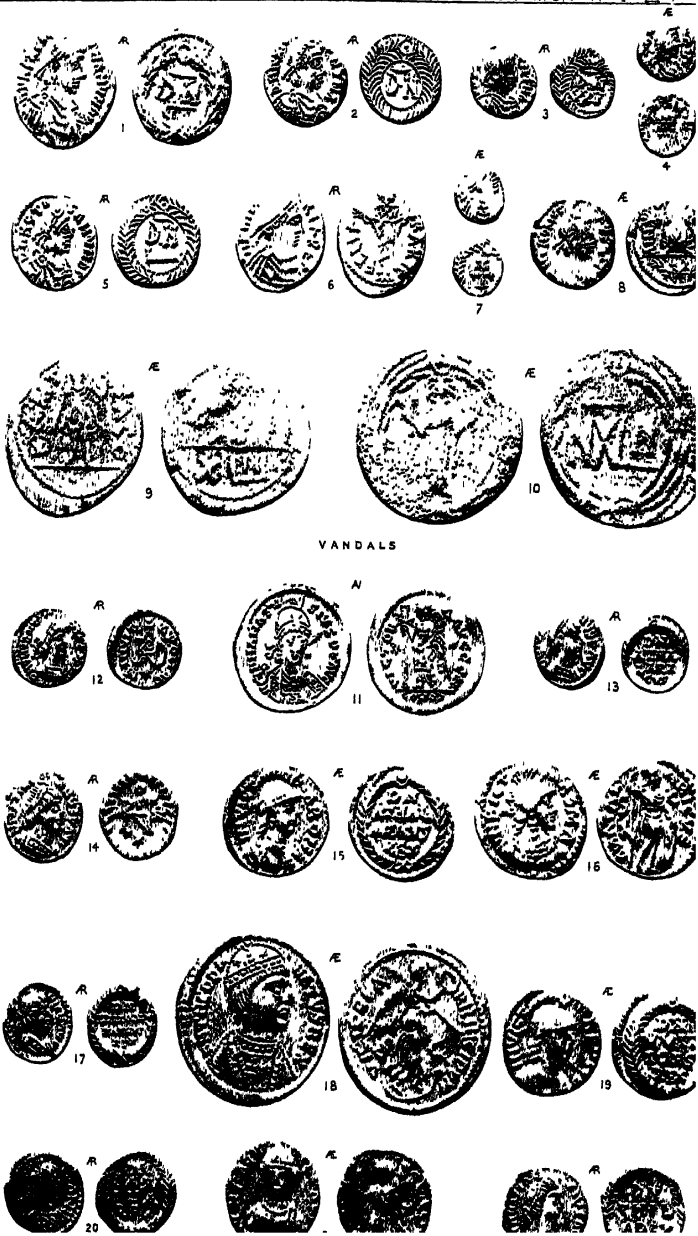
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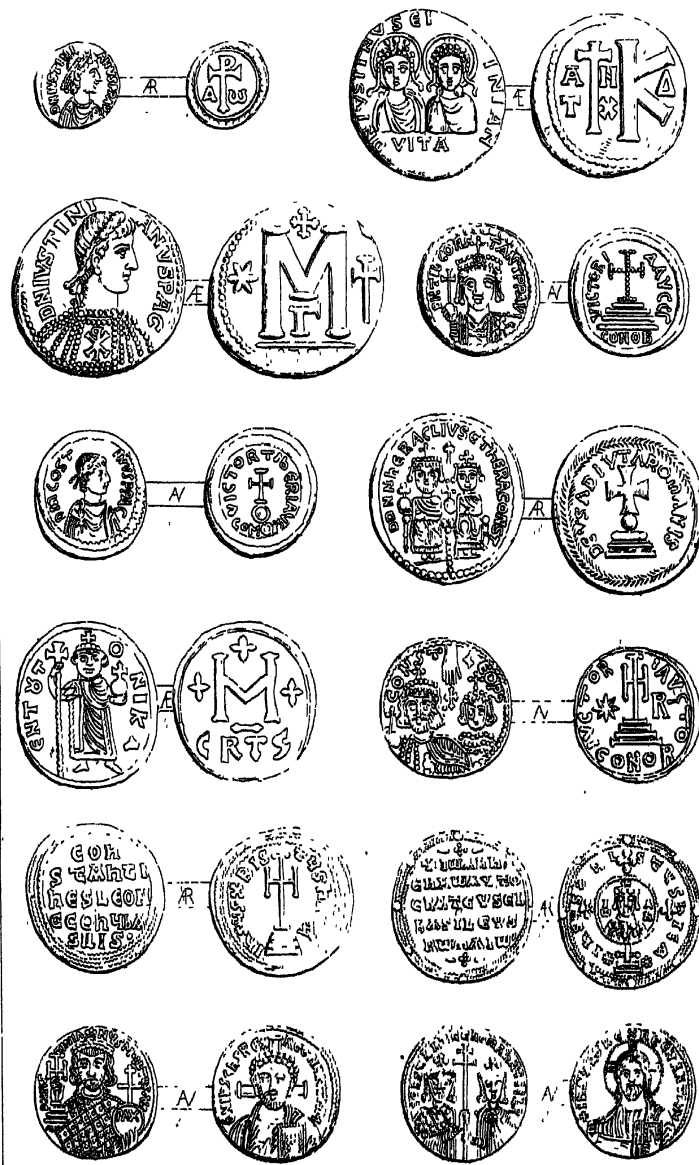


SCOTTISH MEDALS. PLATE II.

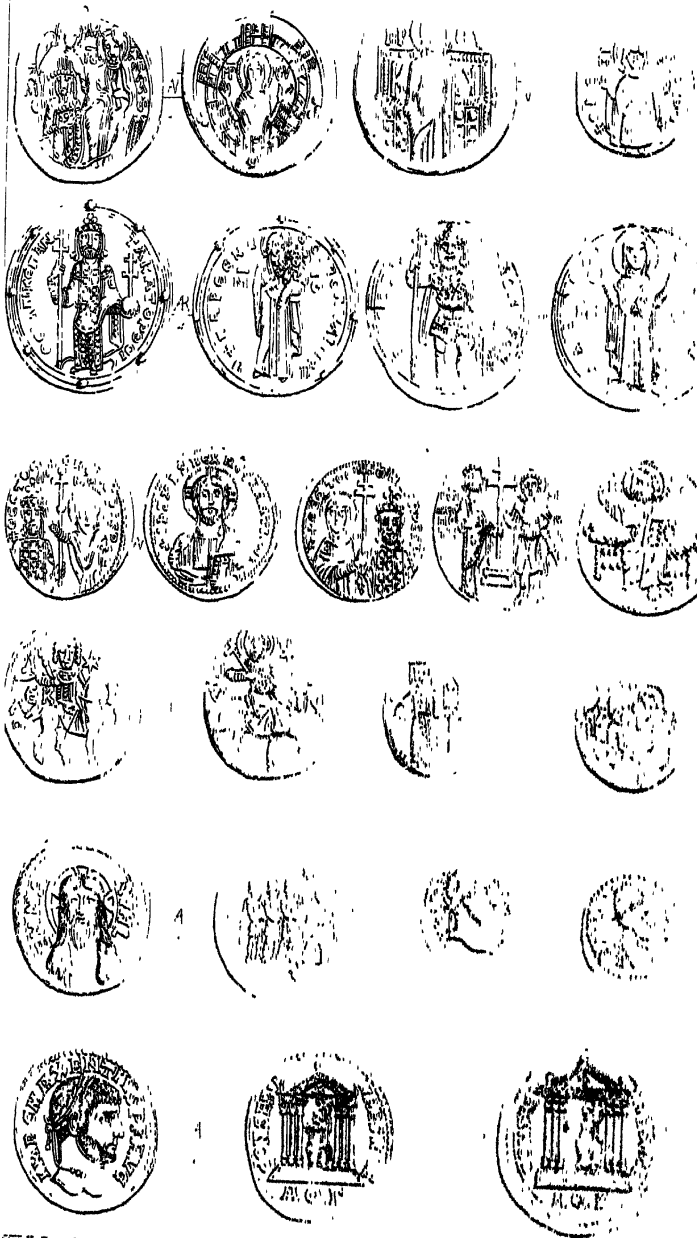


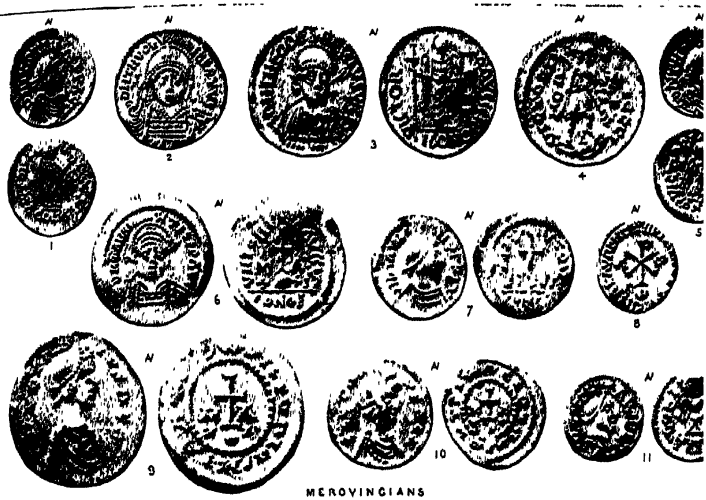



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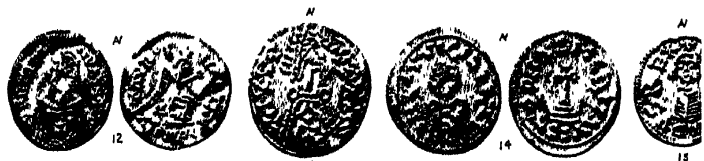




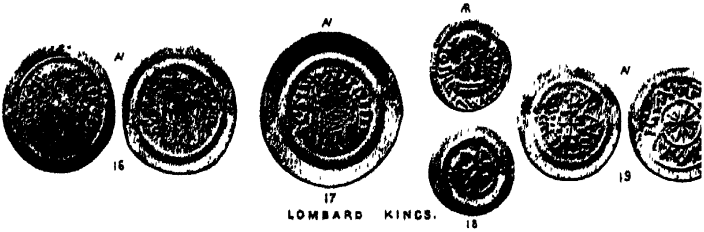




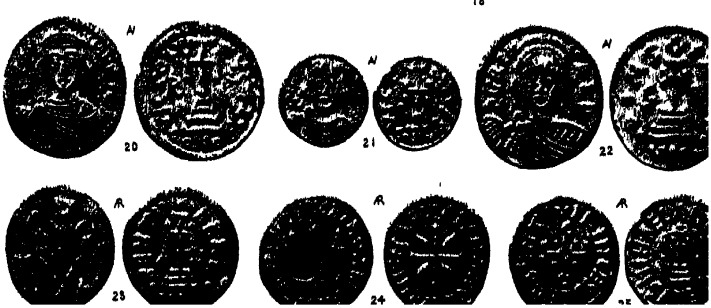
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PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1877—78.

October 18, 1877.

John Evans, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London. 2nd Series, vol. vi., index, &c.; and vol. vii. No. 2, with list of Fellows. From the Society.

2. Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, Journal. 4th Series, vol. iv., No. 29, 1877. From the Association.

3. Archæologia Cantiana. Vol. xi. From the Kent Archæological Society.

4. Royal Asiatic Society Journal. N.S., vol. ix. Part. II. From the Society.

5. American Journal of Numismatics. Vol. xii. No. 1.

6. Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal. Vol. vi., No. 1. From the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal.

7. Société royale des Antiquaires du Nord, Mémoires. N.S., 1875–6; and Aarböger for Nordisk Old-kyndighed og Historie,

1876. 3rd and 4th Parts, with Tillaeg for 1875. From the Society.

8. Revue Belge de Numismatique, 1877. 3rd and 4th livraisons. From the Society.

9. Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie. 2me sér., tome xx.; 3me sér., tome xxi., xxii., xxiii.; and Documents inédits, tomes v., vi., vii., viii. From the Society.

10. Commission Impériale Archéologique de St. Pétersbourg, comptes rendus, 1872-3-4. Each with Atlas. From the Commission.

11. Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, Bulletins, 2me trimestre, 1877; Mémoires, t. xl., 1er fascicule. From the Society.

12. Société Royale de Numismatique (de Belgique), Discours du Président, from the President of the Society.

13. Chartes de la famille de Reinach déposées aux archives du grand-duché de Luxembourg (années 1221—1455, Nos. 1—1673), 1er fascicule. From the Institut de Luxembourg.

14. Numismatische Zeitschrift, 1876, Part I., and 1877, Part I. From the Editor.

15. Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Band v., Heft 1. From the Editor.

16. Jahresbericht der Wissenschaftlichen Club, 1876–7. From the Club.

17. Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande. Heft 59 and 60, 1876–7. From the Society.

18. Numismata Cromwelliana. Parts IV.—VI. By H. W. Henfrey. From the Author.

19. Th. Ducrocq. Mémoires sur un dénier gaulois inédit. From the Author.

20. R. Chalon. Curiosités numismatiques, 28me article. From the Author.

21. Lavoix, H. Monnaies à légendes Arabes frappées en Syrie par les Croisés. Paris, 1877. From the Author.

22. Hoblyn, R. A. Rare English coins of the Milled Series. From the Author.

The Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A., exhibited a satirical five-franc piece—*Obv.*, MACMAHON. I SEPTENNAT. Head of MacMahon to left; beneath, in small characters, NAPOLEON F. *Rev.*, RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. Crowned shield with French eagle and fleurs-de-lis quarterly; cap of Liberty on escutcheon of pretence; above, a cardinal's hat, with celestial rays issuing from the name LOYOLA; behind the shield, crosswise, sword, cannon-sponge, croziers, and two banners, bearing the words LOURDES and SALETTE. Date 1874. *Edge*, DIEU PUNIT LA FRANCE.

Mr. B. V. Head read a paper on the recent interesting discovery near Smyrna of a large number of Electrum Staters of Cyzicus and Lampsacus, and exhibited autotype fac-similes of eleven new types. Mr. Head also read portions of a letter to himself from M. Six, of Amsterdam, on the current value at Athens of the Cyzicene staters in the fifth century B.C., and on the period of time during which these coins continued to be issued from the mint at Cyzicus, fixed conjecturally by M. Six at about a century and a half from B.C. 478—333. See vol. xvii. p. 169.

Mr. Evans read a paper "On Three Roman Medallions of Postumus, Commodus, and Probus," and exhibited the specimens described in his paper, which is printed in vol. xvii. p. 334.

NOVEMBER 15, 1877.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

T. Hodgkin, Esq., the Rev. H. R. Huckin, D.D., Mrs. Priestly, the Right Hon. Lord Selborne, F.R.S., and the Hon. Reginald Talbot were elected members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Boutkowski, A. Dictionnaire numismatique. Livraison I. From the Author.

2. Weyl, A. Brandenburg-Preussische Münz-sammlung. From the Author.

3. Zeitschrift fur Numismatik. Band v., Heft 2. From the Editor.

4. Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, 3me trimestre de 1877. From the Society.

Genl. Sir J. H. Lefroy, F.R.S., exhibited a brass token for two pence, of the Sommer Islands, of the Hog-money series. See vol. xiv., p. 166.

Mr. Evans exhibited six half-sovereigns of the later coinage of Edward VI.

Mr. R. A. Hoblyn exhibited a curious forgery of a crown of William III., an unpublished Tower Shilling of William III., 1697, and a farthing of George I., bronzed, struck on a thin *flan* with a milled edge.

Mr. E. H. Willett read a paper "On some Recent Additions to the Ancient British Coinage of the South-Eastern District," which is printed in vol. xvii. p. 309 *et seq.*

DECEMBER 20, 1877.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

Arthur Durand George, Esq., Alexander Grant, Esq., and Lieut.-Col. John Glas Sandeman were elected members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, Journal. 4th Series, vol. iv., April, 1872. From the Association.

2. Smithsonian Institution. Annual Report, 1876. From the Institution.

3. Catalogue of Coins and Tokens in the Museum of the Royal Mint. From R. A. Hoblyn, Esq.

4. Notice sur une monnaie du Transvaal—Dernieres monnaies de Charles VII. From A. Pearson, Esq.

Mr. Evans exhibited a memorial medal in silver, cast in two separate pieces, probably from wax models, and tooled. *Obv.* IN REMEMBRANCE OF IOSIAS NICOLSON. Three-quarter bust in flowing periuke to left, two skulls above and two at the sides inserted in the inscription. *Rev.* a skeleton to the left, digging, MEMENTO MORI in sunk letters.

Mr. Hoblyn exhibited a pattern of the first penny of George III., by Pingo.

Mr. Copp exhibited a forgery of the sovereign of Charles I. struck at Oxford in 1643.

Mr. Cochran-Patrick communicated the second portion of a paper "On the Metallic History of Scotland," printed in vol. xviii., p. 73, and Mr. H. S. Gill an account of the hoard of Edward the Confessor's pennies found at Sedlescombe, near Battle.

JANUARY 17, 1878.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

T. Theodore Bent, Esq., W. F. Lawrence, Esq., H. H. Howorth, Esq., F.S.A., and Colonel W. F. Prideaux were elected members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Royal Asiatic Society, Journal. N.S., vol. x., Part I., 1877. From the Society.

2. Revue Belge de Numismatique, 1878. 1re livraison. From the Society.

3. A. Weyl. Die Jules Fonrobert'sche Sammlung überseeischer Münzen und Medaillen. From the Compiler.

Mr. Hoblyn exhibited three blundered sixpences of William III., of the years 1696 and 1697, also three patterns for pennies dated 1860.

Mr. C. F. Keary, M.A., read a paper "On a Discovery of Coins of William I. and II. at Tamworth." See vol. xvii., p. 340.

Mr. Evans read a paper "On the Portcullis Groat of Henry VII." See vol. xviii. p. 285.

Mr. Madden communicated a paper "On Christian Emblems on the Coins of Constantine the Great and his Successors," in which he treated of the origin and history of the diadem, the nimbus, the Christian monogram, &c. See vol. xviii., p. 1.

FEBRUARY 21, 1878.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

W. Buttery, Esq., was elected a member of the Society.

Prof. Dr. Theodor Mommsen and M. le Vicomte de Ponton d'Amécourt were elected honorary members.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

From the Rev. Canon Pownall, F.S.A.—

1. Proposals in regard to the Coinage, 1695–96.

(i.) Proposals for restoring the Silver Money of England to its Former State. Printed for R. Cumberland at the Angel in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1695.

(ii.) Some short Proposals humbly offered to the consideration of Parliament for regulating the Coin. London; printed for R. Baldwin.

(iii.) A Letter from London to a Friend in Westminster proposing some Particulars relating to the Coyn. London; printed, sold by R. Baldwin, Warwick Lane, 1695.

(iv.) A Word in Season about Guineas. London, 30th July, 1695.

(v.) Some Questions answered relating to the *badness* of the

now Silver Coin of England. London; printed for Richard Cumberland at the Angel in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1696.

2. Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 2me sér., tom. i., 1877. From the Society.

3. Comptes rendus de la Société Française de Numismatique et d'Archéologie. 2me sér., tome i., 1re partie, 1877. From the Society.

4. The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal. Vol. vi., No. 3, 1878. From the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal.

5. Boutkowski, A. Dictionnaire de Numismatique. Liv. ii., iii., iv. From the Author.

6. Dorn. Inventaire des Monnaies des Khalifes Orientaux et de plusieurs autres dynasties, classes I.—IX., 1877. From the Author.

The Rev. Canon Pownall exhibited a farthing of Richard II., found near Stamford, with pellets in the quarters, similar to No. 822 of Hawkins's "Silver Coins of England." *Obv.* RICARD. REX ANGL.; *Rev.* CIVITAS LONDON.; weight, 4·02 grains.

Mr. Evans exhibited, in illustration of the type of the same, specimens of the noble, half-noble, and quarter-noble of Richard II.

Mr. H. S. Cuming exhibited some small brass coins of Constantine the Great.

Mr. Percy Gardner read a paper on some coins of the Seleucidæ struck in European Greece. See vol. xviii., p. 90.

Mr. C. Patrick contributed the third portion of a paper "On the Metallic History of Scotland."

MARCH 21, 1878.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Mélanges de Numismatique. Tome i. 1874–5 and 1877, fasciculos 1—4. From the Editors.

2. Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, 4^me^ trimestre de 1877. From the Society.

From the Author, R. A. Hoblyn, Esq.—

(i.) Milled Silver Coins with the Plumes.

(ii.) Milled Silver Coins with the Elephant and Castle.

(iii.) English Tin Coins.

Major A. B. Creeke sent for exhibition a rubbing of a coin of Harold I., reading LEOFWINE ON BV, probably struck at Buckingham.

Mr. A. E. Copp exhibited pieces of five guineas with the elephant, two guineas, and one guinea of Charles II.; five guineas, two guineas, and one guinea of William III., 1701, and five guineas of William III., 1700.

Mr. Vaux read a letter from the Hon. J. Gibbs, Deputy Governor of Bombay, on unpublished Zodiacal Rupees, struck in the reign of Jehangir, A.D. 1605—1627; also a paper communicated to him by Mr. E. Thomas on the Phrygian inscriptions of Doganlu, near the old town of Cotiæum in Phrygia, one of which has been recognised as indicating the site of the tomb of Midas, and repeatedly published, first by Leake and Walpole, and more recently by Mr. Hamilton and Baron Texier, *vide* Rawlinson's "Herodotus" (vol. i., p. 666). Mr. Thomas was of opinion that the language of the inscription was essentially Aryan in a transition stage, which in his judgment must have prevailed before the separation of the Greek and Latin stocks. He further believed that he had discovered in the inscription at the foot of the tomb certain dates, pointing to the years B.C. 920 and 848.

A discussion followed, in which the President, Mr. B. V. Head, Mr. P. Gardner, and Mr. C. F. Keary took part, and agreed in disputing the author's conclusions.

APRIL 18, 1878.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Monsieur François Lenormant, Dr. F. Kenner, and Professor J. G. Stickel were elected honorary members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Bullettino dell' Instituto di Correspondenza Archeologica, 1869–1877; 1878, Nos. 1 and 2. From the Society.

2. Revue Belge de Numismatique, 1878, liv. 2. From the Society.

3. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Vol. vii., No. 3. From the Society.

Mr. R. A. Hoblyn exhibited a complete set of the coins struck in 1828 by Mr. M. Young from original dies obtained by him from a member of the Roettier family, in the possession of which they had been since the end of the seventeenth century. The coins in question consisted of a pattern for a piece of sixty shillings, Scottish, of James II.; a pattern for a piece of sixty shillings of James VIII.; a pattern for a shilling or guinea of James III.; a pattern, probably for a quarter-dollar, Scottish, of James VIII.; a piece in tin of James II., struck for the American plantations; and an electrotype of a pattern for an English crown of James III., the original of which is in the British Museum.

Mr. C. F. Keary, M.A., read a paper on the "Coinage of the Vandals," who, with the Ostrogoths, were the earliest among the barbarian invaders of Roman territory to strike money bearing the name and title of the barbarian ruler. See vol. xviii., p. 132.

MAY 16, 1878.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

Thomas Wise, Esq., M.D., was elected a member of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal. Vol. vi., No. 4, April, 1878. From the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal.

2. Bullettino dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, 1878, No. 3. From the Imperial German Archæological Institute of Berlin, Rome, and Athens.

3. Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Band v. Heft. 3 and 4. From the Editor.

4. Catalogue of the Mayer Collection. Part I. Egyptian Antiquities, by C. T. Gatty, Assistant Curator, Liverpool, 1877. From Joseph Mayer, Esq.

5. The Mayer Collection in the Liverpool Museum, considered as an educational possession, by C. T. Gatty, Liverpool, 1878. From J. Mayer, Esq.

6. "A Free Village Library, Bebington." Reprinted from the *Liverpool Standard*, with additions. Liverpool, 1878. From the same.

7. Temenothyrae, by the Baron K. de Koehne. From the Author.

8. The bronze medal of the Peabody Education Fund. From the Trustees of the Fund, through Robert Winthrop, Esq., the Chairman.

Mr. Evans exhibited a copper coin of Cunobeline, found some years ago near Boulogne, having on the obverse a head of Ammon and the inscription CVNOBELINI; and on the reverse a horseman bearing a round shield and the inscription CAM. (Camulodunum). See Evans, Pl. XII., No. 14.

Mr. Frentzel exhibited an impression in copper from an

unfinished die of a halfpenny of Charles II., with the figure of Britannia, and without inscription; also a brass coin of George I., having on the reverse Britannia seated, holding an orb and resting on a shield.

Mr. H. S. Gill exhibited a penny of Henry I., struck at Lincoln, with the inscription TOM ON LICOLIN.

Mr. B. V. Head read a paper, by M. J. P. Six, of Amsterdam, "On the Coins of Hierapolis in Syria." See vol. xviii., p. 103.

JUNE 20, 1878.

Anniversary Meeting.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Anniversary Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society:—George Colley, Esq., J. L. Strachan Davidson, Esq., M.A., and W. J. Gillespie, Esq.

The Report of the Council was then read to the meeting, as follows:—

GENTLEMEN,—The Council again have the honour to lay before you their Annual Report as to the state of the Numismatic Society, and have to announce their loss, by resignation, of the following members:—

Charles Judd, Esq.
J. Maxwell Smith, Esq.[1]

On the other hand, they have much pleasure in recording the election of the seventeen following members:—

[1] Since the above was written, the secretaries have received intelligence of the death of Robert Jennings, Esq., H. W. Lamb, Esq., and of the Rev. T. Cornthwaite; also of the resignations of W. S. Jones, Esq., A. Dickson Mills, Esq., and H. V. Tebbs, Esq.

T. Bent, Esq.
W. Buttery, Esq.
G. Coffey, Esq.
J. L. Strachan Davidson, Esq., M.A.
A. D. George, Esq.
W. J. Gillespie, Esq.
A. Grant, Esq.
T. Hodgkin, Esq.
H. H. Howorth, Esq., F.S.A.
Rev. H. R. Huckin, D.D.
W. F. Lawrence, Esq.
Col. W. F. Prideaux.
Mrs. Priestly.
Col. J. G. Sandoman.
Rt. Hon. Lord Selborne, F.R.S.
Hon. Reginald Talbot, LL.B.
Thomas Wise, Esq., M.D.

Also of the five following honorary members :—

M. le Vicomte de Ponton d'Amécourt.
Dr. F. Kenner.
M. F. Lenormant.
Professor Dr. Theodor Mommsen.
Dr. J. G. Stickel.

According to our Secretary's Report, our numbers are therefore as follows :—

	Elected.	Honorary.	Total.
June, 1878 . .	183	39	222

The President then delivered the following address :—

At the close of another session, I have again the pleasure of congratulating the Society on its prosperous condition, both with regard to the number of its members and the continued value and interest of its publications. With respect to our material well-being, the reports of the Council and of the Treasurer have given you full particulars. I will now say a few words with regard to some of the papers which have been communicated to the Society or have appeared in our journal during the past twelve months.

One of the most important of them in the department of ancient numismatics is that by our indefatigable secretary, Mr. Head, consisting of additional notes on the recent find of

Staters of Cyzicus and Lampsacus, on which he had on a former occasion favoured the Society with some remarks. In this supplemental notice eleven new types of these important coins are described, making a total of thirty-seven types of the Cyzicene stater present in the find; while among the sixteen or eighteen coins of Lampsacus only one type occurs, and all the pieces seem to be from the same die.

M. Six, in an interesting letter addressed to Mr. Head, furnishes some additional information as to the character and bearing of some of the Cyzicene types, of which he states that there are now known at least 115 varieties. M. Six suggests that the emission of these staters must have extended over a period of about 115 years, or from about B.C. 478 to B.C. 333, and that each successive annual magistrate adopted a new type. Mr. Head, on the other hand, inclines to the opinion that the issue of the coins must be restricted to a period of about 90 years, between B.C. 478 and B.C. 387, and that the coin types were changed more frequently than once a year. Although it is difficult to conceive the grounds on which such a great diversity of type was permitted--whether we are to regard the change in type as taking place annually, or at less intervals, or whether we assume that several types were in use at the same time—it seems to me to add to the difficulty of the case, and to be contrary to what might be expected from analogy, that such a system once adopted should have remained unchanged during so long a period as even 90 years, to say nothing of 115.

With regard to the question of the value of such staters at Athens, I must confess that there appear to me great difficulties in supposing that the current value was immediately dependent on the exact proportion of gold that each piece contained.

The assayers of those early times had but rough-and-ready means of judging of the purity of metals, though, no doubt, by passing one coin out of a number through a fiery ordeal, they could ascertain the amount of gold it had contained. It was

not until the time of Archimedes, or about 250 B.C., that the determination of the fineness of the metal by the test of specific gravity was discovered, and this method was even then probably but little practised.

Another important communication from our distinguished honorary member, M. Six, is on the subject of Phœnician coins. In it he suggests a new classification of some of the coins of Byblus, and adds a new King—Elpaal—to the series. He enters into the history of the coins of Aradus and Marathus, enlarges upon those of Tyre and Sidon, and gives a long list of the coins of Gaza. With regard to the Jewish shekels, M. Six expresses a cursory opinion that the old attribution to Simon Maccabæus will eventually hold good; and he, therefore, does not include them in the article that I have just noticed, to which all future students of this branch of numismatics will find it necessary to refer.

M. Six has also favoured the Society with another important paper on the coins of Hierapolis in Syria, in which he has thrown much light on the coinage of the ancient Bambyce, and of that of the dynast and high priest, Abd Hadad. The worship of Baal, Dagon, and of the great *Dea Syria*, Atergates, is one which is of interest to many besides numismatists, and the representations of these divinities upon the coins of Syria have often attracted attention. That the worship of the Syrian goddess should have spread so widely throughout Europe is a remarkable circumstance, and English antiquaries will be pleased to recognise in the virgin seated on a lion and holding ears of corn, that same goddess whose praises are recited in the curious poetical inscription found at Carvoran,[1] and now preserved in the Newcastle Museum.

Whether the symbol 80, which appears on some of these

[1] Bruce's Roman Wall, p. 401:—

"Imminet Leoni Virgo cælesti situ
Spicifera, justi inventrix, urbium conditrix," &c.

didrachms, refers to a date or was intended to denote value, is a question which I will not attempt to decide.

Mr. Percy Gardner has also furnished us with another valuable paper in the domain of Greek numismatics. In it he has treated of the coins of the Seleucid kings of Syria, struck not in Asia but in Greece and Macedon; or, at all events, for the purpose of being employed in Europe. Some of them are copper pieces of Antiochus I., which seem to be of Ætolian origin. Others are of Antiochus III., with the name of the Ætolians on the reverse; while others, again, of the same king were struck at Carystus, in Eubœa, on the occasion of his expedition through Bœotia into Thessaly. Though the name of Antiochus III. does not appear upon the coins, the portrait may fairly be accepted as his. The most remarkable discovery of Mr. Gardner is, however, that which identifies the veiled head of a queen, as Hera, on a coin of Chalcis, with that of the young bride of Antiochus, Eubœa, whom he courted and married during his stay in Chalcis, and in whose honour a series of games and ceremonies took place, which are recorded by various historians.

In Roman numismatics our communications have been somewhat fewer in number, but Mr. Madden has continued his series of papers on the Christian emblems on the coins of Constantine the Great and his successors, which contain a large amount of detailed information upon this interesting subject. Among the coins cited those with the type of the labarum implanted on the serpent, and with the legend SPES PVBLICA, are, perhaps, the most important. But the whole series of papers well deserves the attention of all students of Christian antiquities.

The only other paper upon Roman coins which we have had before us during the past year was one in which I gave a short notice of three bronze medallions in my own collection, among which that of Postumus with his head side by side with that of Hercules is of considerable rarity and interest.

In mediæval numismatics Mr. Keary has commenced a series of papers on the coinages of Western Europe, from the fall of the Western Empire to the accession of Charlemagne. The classification of the debased imitations of the Roman coinage which were struck during this period is an undertaking fraught with much difficulty, and one which requires a large field for induction, which, happily, our national collection supplies. But little attention, however, has hitherto been bestowed in this country upon this class of coins, though the labours of the late Mr. De Salis must not be forgotten. Unfortunately, however, he did not live to publish to the world the amount of knowledge he had acquired, and numismatists will be grateful to Mr. Keary for undertaking to continue his work. The papers already communicated to the Society comprise the barbarous imitations of the Roman coinage among the Suevians, Burgundians, Franks, Visigoths, Vandals, and Ostrogoths, and are not only of numismatic but of great historical value.

In British and English numismatics we have had a fair number of papers. First among these must be mentioned that by Mr. Ernest Willett, F.S.A., giving an account of a remarkable series of ancient British coins, found on the sea-shore in the neighbourhood of Bognor. They comprise not only a number of uninscribed gold coins, but a large number of those of the three sons of Commius—Tincommius, Verica, and Eppillus—including several new and important types. The most important is, perhaps, that with the legend COM FILI, which sets at rest the question of the meaning of the letter F occurring after COM and TASC on the coins of this series. The legend CALLEV. on another coin is, however, of almost equal importance, as seeming to establish the fact that one of the mints of Eppillus was situated at Calleva. The value of Mr. Willett's paper is enhanced by the careful analysis made by Professor Church of several of the coins of different types.

The hoard of coins of William I. and II., discovered at Tamworth, and described by Mr. Keary, throws some light on the

difficult question of the succession of types in the coinage of these two monarchs—a subject, however, on which much still remains to be learnt.

Among the more modern English coins, we have had notices of the rare portcullis groat of Henry VII. by myself, and of the silver coins with the elephant, elephant and castle, and the plumes, by Mr. Hoblyn, as well as on English tin coins by the same author, so that our native series cannot be said to have been in any way neglected.

For the Scottish series, Mr. Cochran-Patrick has continued his notes towards a metallic history of Scotland; while for colonial coins, we have had from General Sir Henry Lefroy a notice of the hitherto unknown twopenny-piece, belonging to the Hog money series of Sommer Island, or Bermuda.

Oriental numismatics have been somewhat neglected during the past year, but Mr. Vaux has called our attention to some unpublished Zodiacal rupees; and Mr. Thomas has raised a discussion with regard to the antiquity of the Aryan alphabet. Moreover, since our last anniversary, the first volume of the "International Numismata Orientalia" has been completed, most of the contributors to which are members of our Society, so that we may fairly claim some portion of the credit due to that handsome volume.

Such, in a short compass, are the results of the labours of this Society during the last twelve months, and I venture to think that we may point to our publications with some degree of satisfaction as evincing that neither numismatic acumen nor discriminating scholarship are extinct among us; and that our Society, though now getting old in years, is by no means devoid of energy and strength.

It only remains for me now to express a hope that at the end of the year on which we are now entering, we may have, if possible, a still more satisfactory retrospect.

The Treasurer's Report is appended.

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements of the Numismatic Society, from June, 1877, to June, 1878.

Dr. THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF LONDON IN ACCOUNT WITH J. FREDERICK NECK, TRES. *Cr.*

	£	s.	d.
To Messrs. Virtue & Co., for printing Chronicle, Part 65	31	5	6
„ ditto ditto ditto Part 66	33	11	0
„ ditto ditto ditto Part 67	58	15	9
„ ditto ditto ditto Part 68	40	11	0
„ Mr. F. J. Lees, for Engraving	40	10	0
„ The Autotype Company	16	1	6
„ Messrs. Davy and Son. for Printing	1	17	4
„ Mr. J. Ayres, Rent to Christmas, 1877	20	0	0
„ ditto for Attendance	5	0	0
„ ditto for Coffee, Postage, &c.	8	6	10
„ Fire Insurance on £500	0	15	0
„ Mr. Head, for Postage, &c.	2	10	0
„ Collector, for Commission	8	9	3
„ ditto Book (List of Members) and Engrossing	1	11	6
„ ditto Postage and Envelopes	0	16	6
„ Treasurer, for Stamps and Postage	0	12	0
„ Balance	116	5	6
	£381	18	8

	£	s.	d.
By Balance from last Statement	110	11	10
„ Entrance Fees	8	8	0
„ Annual Subscriptions	160	13	0
„ Life Subscriptions	27	6	0
„ Mr. J. R. Smith, for Chronicles	48	13	4
„ Mr. A. Grant „ „	1	4	6
„ Mr. A. S. Gill „ „	0	14	0
„ Dividends, 2 years on £305 17*s.* 10*d.*	18	2	8
„ „ „ £102 1*s.* 3*d.*	6	2	4
„ Remittance for Postage	0	3	0
	£381	18	8
By Balance in hand	£116	5	6

J. FREDERICK NECK, HON TREASURER.

The Meeting then proceeded to ballot for the officers of the ensuing year, when the following gentlemen were elected:—

President.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S.

Vice-Presidents

RT. HON. THE EARL OF ENNISKILLEN, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.G.S.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., M.A., F.R.S.

Treasurer.

J. F. NECK, Esq.

Secretaries.

HERBERT A. GRUEBER, Esq.

BARCLAY VINCENT HEAD, Esq.

Foreign Secretary.

PERCY GARDNER, Esq., M.A.

Librarian.

W. BLADES, Esq.

Members of the Council.

E. H. BUNBURY, Esq., M.A., F.G.S.

A. E. COPP, Esq.

RICHARD HOBLYN, Esq.

CHARLES F. KEARY, Esq., M.A.

R. L. KENYON, Esq., M.A.

J. H. MIDDLETON, Esq., M.A.

STANLEY LANE POOLE, Esq.

THE HON. REGINALD TALBOT, LL.B.

EDWARD THOMAS, Esq., F.R.S.

HENRY WEBB, Esq.

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

OF LONDON.

DECEMBER, 1878.

LIST OF MEMBERS

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An Asterisk prefixed to a name indicates that the Member has compounded for his annual contribution.

*Alexéieff, M. George de, Chambellan de S.M. l'Empereur de Russie, Ekaterinoslaw (par Moscou), Russie Méridionale.

*Babington, Rev. Prof. Churchill, B.D., M.R.S.L., Cockfield Rectory, Sudbury, Suffolk.

Baker, W. R., Esq., Bayfordbury, Hertford.

Barrett, T. B., Esq., Welsh Pool, Montgomeryshire.

Bayley, Sir E. Clive, H.E.I.C.S., 96, Portland Place, W.

Bent, T. T., Esq., 43, Great Cumberland Place, Hyde Park.

Birch, Samuel, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., British Museum.

Blades, William, Esq., 11, Abchurch Lane, *Librarian.*

Blair, Robert, Esq., 84, King Street, South Shields.

Brandt, R. F. W., Esq., 8, Chester Terrace, Regent's Park.

Bridges, G. H. N., Esq., 30, Denmark Hill, S.E.

*Briggs, Arthur, Esq., Cragg Royd, Rawden, Leeds.

Brown, G. D., Esq., Fairmill, Henley-on-Thames.

Buchan, J. S., Esq., 24, Bank Street, Dundee.

Bunbury, Edward H., Esq., M.A., F.G.S., 35, St. James's Street.

Burns, Edward, Esq, F.S.A.Scot., 3, London Street, Edinburgh.

Bush, Colonel Tobin, 14, St. James's Square; and 29, Rue de l'Orangerie, Le Hâvre.

Butler, Charles, Esq., Warren Wood, Hatfield.

Butler, John, Esq., Park View, Bolton.

Buttery, W., Esq., County Club, Galway.

Calvert, Rev. Thos., 92, Lansdowne Place, Brighton.

Camerino, Carlos, Esq.

CARFRAE, ROBERT, ESQ., 77, George Street, Edinburgh.
CAVE, LAURENCE TRENT, ESQ., 13, Lowndes Square.
CHAMBERS, MONTAGUE, ESQ., Q.C., Child's Place, Temple Bar.
COATS, THOS., ESQ., Ferguslie, Paisley, North Britain.
COCKBURN, JOHN, ESQ., 28, George Street, Richmond.
COFFEY, G., ESQ., 72, Lower Bagot Street, Dublin.
*COPP, A. E., ESQ., 2, Myrtle Villas, Thornton Hill, Wimbledon.
CREEKE, MAJOR ANTHONY BUCK, Monkholme, Burnley.
*CROŸ, PRINCE ALFRED EMMANUEL DE, Château du Rœulx, Hainaut, Belgium.
CUMING, H. SYER, ESQ., F.S.A.Scot., 63, Kennington Park Road.
CUMMINGS, REV. A. H., Gunwalloe Vicarage, Helston, Cornwall.
CUNNINGHAM, MAJOR-GENERAL A., H. S. King & Co., 65, Cornhill.

DAVIDSON, J. L. STRACHAN, ESQ., Balliol College, Oxford.
DAVIDSON, JOHN, ESQ., Arts Club, Hanover Square.
DAVIES, MAJOR A., Ladbroke House, Redhill, Surrey.
DAVIES, WILLIAM RUSHER, ESQ., Market Place, Wallingford.
DOUGLAS, CAPTAIN R. J. H., Junior United Service Club.
DOULTON, J. DUNCAN, ESQ., 97, Piccadilly.
DRYDEN, SIR HENRY, BART., Canon's Ashby, Daventry.

EADES, GEORGE, ESQ., Evesham, Worcestershire.
ENNISKILLEN, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.G.S., M.R.I.A., Florence Court, Enniskillen, Ireland, *Vice-President*.
EVANS, ARTHUR J., ESQ., F.S.A., Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead.
EVANS, JOHN, ESQ., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead; and 65, Old Bailey, *President*.
EVANS, SEBASTIAN, ESQ., LL.D., Heathfield, Alleyne Park, West Dulwich, S.E.

FEUARDENT, GASTON, ESQ., 61, Great Russell Street.
FONROBERT, JULES, ESQ., 103, Leipziger Street, Berlin.
FORD, T. K., ESQ., 12, Portland Terrace, Southsea.
FOSTER, JAMES MURRAY, ESQ., F.R.C.P.E., Collumpton, Devon.
FRANKS, AUGUSTUS WOLLASTON, ESQ., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., Brit. Mus.
FRENTZEL, RUDOLPH, ESQ., 2, Winchester Street Buildings.
FREUDENTHAL, W., ESQ., M.D., 9, Bruchthor Promenade, Brunswick.

GARDNER, PERCY, ESQ., M.A., British Museum.
GEORGE, A. DURAND, ESQ., 18, Anglesea Road, Ipswich.

Gibson, J. Harris, Esq., 73, Renshaw Street, Liverpool.
Gill, Henry Septimus, Esq., Tiverton.
Gillespie, W. J., Whitehall, Foxrock, co. Dublin.
Golding, Charles, Esq., Heathcote House, Romford, Essex.
Grant, Alexander, Esq., H. S. King & Co., Division I., 65, Cornhill, E.C.
Gray, J., Esq., Nothorton House, Govan, Glasgow.
Greenwell, Rev. Canon, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., Durham.
Grueber, Herbert A., Esq., British Museum.
*Guest, Edwin, Esq., LL.D., D.C.L., Master of Caius College, Cambridge.

Hall, Robert, Esq., Laurel Villa, Carshalton Grove, Sutton, Surrey.
Hay, Major, H.E.I.C.S., 7, Westminster Chambers, Victoria Street.
Hayns, W. E., Esq., 2, Great George Street, Westminster.
Head, Barclay Vincent, Esq., British Museum, *Secretary*.
Henfrey, Henry Wm., Esq., Widmore College, Bromley, Kent.
Heward, Peter, Esq., 2, Charnwood Villa, Caroline Street, Llandudno.
Hoblyn, Richard, Esq., 2, Sussex Place, Regent's Park.
Hodgkin, T., Esq., Benwelldene, Newcastle.
Hoffmann, Monsieur H., 33, Quai Voltaire, Paris.
Holt, H. Fred. William, Esq., H.B.M. Vice-Consul, Tamsay, Formosa.
Howorth, H. H., Esq., Derby House, Eccles, Manchester.
Huckin, Rev. H. R., D.D., Repton, Derbyshire.
Hunt, J. Mortimer, Esq., 156, New Bond Street.
Hyde, Colonel, India Office, Westminster, S.W.

Ireland, Miss C. C., Sandford Place, Cheltenham.

James, J. Henry, Esq., Kingswood, Watford.
Jones, James Cove, Esq., F.S.A., Loxley, Wellesbourne, Warwick.
Jones, Thomas, Esq., Llanerchrugog Hall, Wales; and 2, Plowden's Buildings, Temple.

Kay, Henry Cassells, Esq., 11, Durham Villas, Kensington, W.
Keary, Charles Francis, Esq., M.A., British Museum.
Kenyon, R. Lloyd, Esq., M.A., 11, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.
Kitchener, H. H., Esq., R.E., R.A. and R.E. Club, care of Messrs. Cox & Co., Craig's Court, S.W.
Kirby, T. B., Esq., 28, Lower Hastings Street, Leicester.

*Lambert, George, Esq., F.S.A., 10, Coventry Street.
Lang, Robert Hamilton, Esq., H.B.M. Imperial Ottoman Bank, Bucharest.
Lawrence, F. G., Esq., Alpha House, Acton.
Lawrence, W. F., Esq., Lincoln's Inn Chambers, Chancery Lane.
Lawson, Alfred J., Esq., Imperial Ottoman Bank, Smyrna.
Leather, C. J., Esq., North Grounds Villa, Portsea, Portsmouth.
Lees, F. J., Esq., 4, The Crescent, Richmond.
*Lewis, Rev. Samuel Savage, F.S.A., Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
Lincoln, Frederick W., Esq., 462, New Oxford Street.
Loewe, Dr. L., M.R.A.S., 1 and 2, Oscar Villas, Broadstairs, Kent.
Longstaffe, W. Hylton Dyer, Esq., F.S.A., 4, Catherine Terrace, Gateshead.
Lord, J., Esq., 1, Whitehall Gardens.
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